

1674  
M 139



REPROOF. p. 67.

**I**F you have any thing to object against it, do your worst. You know the Press is open.

*By the Author and  
Licenser of the Eccle-  
siastical Politic.*

Licensed the 1<sup>st</sup>.  
of May 1673.

143 x 83 cm.  
372



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1674  
M 129



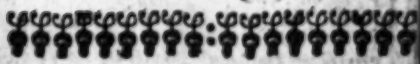
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*C. Mauro. Jes. Coll. Cant. Am. 6.*

THE *1679.*  
REHEARSALL  
TRANSPROSD:

The SECOND PART.

*Occasioned by Two Letters: The first Printed, by a nameless Author, Intituled A Reproof, &c.*

*The Second Letter left for me at a Friends House, Dated Nov. 3. 1673. Subscribed J. G. and concluding with these words, If thou darest to Print or Publish any Lie or Libel against Doctor Parker, By the Eternal God I will cut thy Throat.*

*Answered by* ANDREW MARVEL

L O N D O N,  
*Printed for Nathaniel Ponder at the Peacock in Chancery-Lane near Fleet-Street, 1674.*

THE GREAT

FRANCIS BROS.

THE CHILD

EDWIN

NEW YORK

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THE  
**REHEARSAL**  
**TRANSPROSD.**

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The Second Part.

---

**T**He Author of the Ecclesiastical Polity ( why not Doctor Sermon ) *The last line of his Preface to the Rep.*  
 doubts, with some reason, whether he has not in that Study *lost his understanding.* To convince himself therefore and others of the contrary, he attempts to shew here at the beginning, that he not only knows as yet what he does, but remembers still the very circumstances of his actions. He tells me, *I had heard from him sooner had he not, immediately after he undertook my Correction, been preven-*

ted by a dull and lazy distemper; but being now recruited, &c. Sooner or later imports not, it comes much to the same account. No Naturalist has determin'd the certain time of a Mountains pregnancy, how long it goes before it be deliver'd; but one has told us what kind of Child it always produces. And as for his dull and lazy Distemper, the Courtier was no less superfluous to inform me of what most men have been long since fully satisfied upon undeniable Testimony. What is the World concern'd in the Revolutions of his health, or the courses of Physick that he runs through at Spring and Fall? *Plutarch* indeed gives us the Minutes of *Alexander the Great's* sickness after his last debauch; and the *Dutch Historian Aytzema* is so punctual in the late *Prince of Oranges* malady, as even to Chronicle in Folio what days he did *excernere Dura*, when *Fatida*, and when *Faces laudabiles*. What then? Must it therefore follow that this *Orange Doctor*, by having commenc'd in this *Princes Train*, is grown so considerable, that the *Temper of his mind*, the *Juncture of his Affairs*, and the *State of his Body* should be transmitted to posterity? That after Ages must read

read in what Moon his invention was  
 fluent, and in what *Epoeba*, costive?  
 That as in his late Preface he enter'd his  
*closer Importance* upon Record, so in this  
 voluminous Pamphlet his close Stool too  
 should be Register'd? But suppose he  
 were of such Moment, he is too hard  
 put to it, and but ill befriended, that he  
 must do himself that Office. Was there  
 not one true *English* Man left to help  
 him? Ungrateful World, that when he  
 has *lost his Labour and Under-*  
*standing* in writing them an  
*Ecclesiastical Polity*, would not  
 afford him some other Pen for  
 his own Ecclesiastical History. But he  
 is so self-sufficient, and an *At-all* of so  
 many capacities, that he would Excom-  
 municate any Man who should have pre-  
 sumed to intermeddle so far within his  
 Province. Has he been an Author? he  
 is too the Licenser. Has he been a Father?  
 he will stand too for God-father. Is he  
 then to be married? he asks his own  
 Banes in Print. And now after he thinks  
 himself cured, and in Wedding and Wri-  
 ting case, he cannot forbear nevertheless  
 but he must be publishing his diseases.  
 Had he Acted *Pyramus* he would have

*The last line  
 of Pref. to  
 Rep.*

been *Moon-shine* too, and the *Hole in the Wall*. That first *Author of Ecclesiastical Polity*, Nero was of the same temper. He could not be contented with the *Roman Empire* unless he were too his own *Præcentor*, and he in the same manner, out of meer Charity, when he apprehended Death, lamented only the detriment that Mankind must sustain in losing so considerable a Fidler. When a Man is once possess'd with this Fanatick kind of Spirit, he imagines, if a Shoulder do but itch, that the World has gall'd it with leaning on't so long, and therefore he wisely shrugs to remove the Globe to the other. If he chance but to freeze, he salutes himself, and courteously prays that the *Foundations of the Earth* be not shaken. And even so the *Author of the Ecclesiastical Polity*, ever since he crept up to be but the Weather-cock of a Steeple, he trembles and creaks at every puff of Wind that blows him about, as if the *Church of England* were falling, and the *State totter'd*. And then, after Men are once come to mistake themselves as so necessary, it is no wonder if they impute it for a great Obligation, as oft as they condescend to give the Publick an account of their Privacies.

There

There is not any so undecent Circumstance of their life but they think it worthy to be committed to Paper, and, soul as it is, yet they forthwith send it away to the Printer. And now all Christendom doubtless has taken notice that *the Author of the Ecclesiastical Polity* has lain in of a dull and lazy distemper, and to be sure the Ecclesiasticks of his faculty have deeply Sympathized with his condition. The News will, after the rebound of some Months, reach *Constantinople* and *Agra*; and as soon as they hear of his recovery, the *Mufti* and the *Mulla* will certainly send to congratulate him. But however, he has methinks not dealt so kindly herein with his native Country, as their universal concernment for him might have deserved. For though indeed there must needs be a mighty profit upon the exportation of his Book, and those especially beyond the Line will think it a great advantage to buy the account of his health at any rate with so large a Volume into the bargain; yet he might out of gratitude to our curiosity have advertis'd us at home the cheaper way, by the same Gazette of the 15<sup>th</sup>. of May, 1673. in which he cries his Book to make it vendible.

Whereas the inserting it thus in so thick an *Oclavo*, is a most palpable project upon Mens affections, and next to imposing his Book upon the Church-wardens of every Parish, and the Chapters of all the Cathedrals. As well as Men love him, yet they desire not that his Sickneſs should be as chargeable to the Countrey as a Viſitation. Nay, even the Clergy of his own Province ſcruple at the Price, and take it ill that as oft as their Arch-deacon comes abroad again in Print, they should be oblig'd in this manner to pay Procurations and Synodals. But of all Men it falls moſt ſeverely upon the Non-conformiſts, who having been exhausted with ſo many other penalties formerly, cannot ſo well afford to buy their Penance ſo dear, and take off his Books every year in Commutation. 'Tis true, he has been kind to them, and to ſuch a degree, that he hath done more ſervice to their Cauſe by writing againſt it, than all their own Authors that ever writ for them. But that therefore being ſo contrary to his intention, the Accident diminifhes the Courteſie. And if yet for *old acquaintance* ſake they could be content to give ſomewhat for a *Book in ſome places errone-*



ous, in some places scarce sense; and of all Consequence; they compute that if the Reproof to the Rehearsal Transpos'd in a Discourse is his Author by the Author of the Ecclesiastical Polity be of the same Nature, and at the same price, it is however better of the two to buy an English Bible with all its faults. He is return'd to be a *Precious Man* indeed, more precious then ever heretofore at the Univerlity; if since he arde to be the Author of the Ecclesiastical Polity, a poor Fanatick that has been of his intimacy cannot be inform'd how he does under the prodigal expence of Five Shilling.

Gregory p.  
104. concern-  
ing the En-  
glish Bible.

He cannot sure take it unkindly if I enter into a further consultation of the Nature of his indisposition, and the remedies; seeing he has so voluntarily interess'd me therein, and his Readers. For the Officious always spring game to the Curious. The Disease being as he relates so dull and lazy, I should think at first that it might have been a Lethargy, and whereas he imagines himself recruited, that he has only in order to a Cure (as is usual in that case) been cast into a Fever. For he has forgot himself most extreamly, and

A 4

his

his whole discourse, as proceeding from a Man in the confines of two so contrary distempers, partakes all thorow equally of Stupidity and Raving.

But when I reflect further upon the Symptoms, and his description, it seems more probably to be the *Abelteria*, a Greek discomposure, and to which those of his constitution are generally subject. The malignity of this affects the Mind rather than the Body, and therefore lies further beyond the reach of Physick. When once it takes a Man he is desperate, and there is no more possibility of his recovery; nor is that strange, it being the property of those that have it by how much they grow worse to conceive always that they are in a better Condition.

Some indeed will have it, that under those Terms of a dull and lazy distemper he calumniates a more active and stirring Disease, ( as the Spleen and the Scurvy do oftentimes bear the blame of another infirmity ) and that it is no *Grecian* malady, but derives its name from a Country much nearer. But that

**Rep. p. 1.** *Distemper is so unsuitable to the Civility of his Education,*  
and

and the Gravity of his *Profession*, that I question much whether it could be so *Clownish and Licentious* (bold though it be) to accost a Personage of his Figure and Character. Yet who knows after that new *Alliance* in the Year 1665, betwixt Nature and Divinity, that amorous season of his *Tentamina Physico-Theologica*, (if he were the Author) whether his Nature may not have given his Divinity the slip, and running its own random have met with some misadventure? For even then he had learnt how *Aristotle* Worshipped his *Wench* under show of Sacrificing to a Goddess. He inform'd us so early how *Stilpo* disputing before the *Areopagites*, that *Mi- zerva* could not be a God, because she was a Woman, and therefore a Goddess; *Theodorus* somewhat smuttily ask'd him, whether he had seen her without her Shift. And this re-party of *Theodorus* he recommends there for so ingenious, that he ranks it among his Colours, why that Philosopher, who call'd himself God, should not be counted an Atheist; Though I can scarce discern any more Wit or Theology in it than in his own Argument

*Tent. Phys.*  
p. 2.

*Tent. Phys.*  
p. 12.

ment lately among a Knot of eminent Divines, the Women being present, that the rest of the Clergy-Mens Wives were but Dish-clouts, his own a Goddess; and they had been perfectly quit, had but *Stilpo* now cap'd *Theodorus*, by telling him that they were all however no more then needed to scowre his Mouth after so slovenly a comparison. In the same Book he demonstrates at large how impossible it was (though *Epicurus* his Opinion) for Mankind to be produced at first from

*Text. Phys.*  
from p. 68.  
to p. 77.  
p. 112.

certain Vesicles or Pimples of the Earth. You would wonder to see how solidly and elaborately, with what *dist* of Reason he confutes so dangerous an Heresie, to the great instruction doubtless, and advantage of Sir *John Hinton*, and Doctor *Chamberlain*. Then he takes their

*Text. Phys.*  
from p. 99.  
to p. 108.

Orice out of their Hands, and proceeds immediately to read a publick Lecture of the Figure and Use of the Vessels of Generation, and more especially those of the Female. Like a forward Chick he pecks through Doctor *Harveys* Egg-shell, and tells us that most

*Text. 1. 111.*  
p. 106.

famous

famous Physician was not so cunning as he should have been in the chief Mystery of the seminal business. At last this blushing Gentleman, this Picture of Modesty, in open terms undertakes to explain the pleasure annex'd to the Act of Procreation, and is so tickled with the imagination (presaging too perhaps, that it might ere long be his fortune to dine with a God, [so he styles the Archbishop]) and bed a Goddess, (so he calls his Mistress) that although he censures *Licetiam* for speaking so broad, yet he cannot refrain from using his own Words, *That 'twas so excessively sweet, as to be the solace not only of Mankind, but the Deities.* And all this stir is there made by the present Author of the Ecclesiastical Polity, in order forsooth to prove Gods providence, as if that could not be, or were not sufficiently evidenced without his Gossipping collections of naked Midwifery. Inasmuch that one who understood not beyond his Latine, might justly doubt, whether by the *Tentamani* Physi-

Sept. 117.

*Tent. Phys.*  
p. 168.

*Et Deus  
hanc mensam  
Draque est  
dignata  
cubili.*  
See this  
Book, p.  
162.

*Hominibus  
que Divum  
voluptatem.*

*Physico-Theologica* he meant indeed the Essays of his Divinity, or the Temptations of his Nature. Neither can it in Reason seem strange if the vigorous and frequent contemplation of such Objects transported him further, and her too as well as other Creatures might (to use

*First Phys.*  
p. 105.

*Third Phys.*  
p. 73.

*Cens. Plat.*  
phil. p.

*211.*

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*211.*

his own Phrase) out of that vehement and unbridled concupiscence rush in furias ignemq; thorow Fire and Water upon a dangerous experiment against the Pimples of the Earth and Paracelsus his Limbeck. For he himself in a succeeding Book (said to be his) the censure of the Platonick Philosophy confesses; That if in any respect Virtue and Religion intrench upon the liberty of our Natures, 'tis in the Instances of sensuality, and that when the Man is divided from the Beast, and his Reason separated from the Inferiour and brutish appetites, then arise irregular and unreasonable desires, &c. So that by his own acknowledgment, it is not impossible but the Man in him may at some time have been obliged to carry the bruit a pack a pack. Only there is this difference betwixt his Beast and others, that his

his mind, it seems is more subject to irregular and unreasonable desires when abstracted within it self; whereas the Reason of other Men suffers most in conjunction with the inferiour and brutish appetites. So that although in the same Book he magnifies those spruce Gentlemen the Platonists, as being *conf. Pl. Phil. p. 19.* professedly the most generous contempters of Women in the World, and affirms, that their amours (for they were accus'd of Sodomy) were not kindled by lust and petulancy, but were pure and cleanly enough to become Angels, and separated Souls; though in the usual pompous explication of his own perfections he glories; That he hath tasted less of sensual delights than he thinks *conf. Pl. Phil. p. 15.* any one placed in the said circumstances and capacities; for he hath hitherto scarce imploy'd any of his Senses but that of seeing; notwithstanding all these preventive insinuations, I see no reason to trust him further than I would his own Curate of Ikham, with his Maid Mary Parker. But I rather suspect, where he stops short in the career of a Sentence, that he thinks nothing *conf. Pl. Phil. p. 123.* concerns him so much as those

designs

*designs that aspire to serve his dearest* — the rest was Bawdy. For though he were on the Rode to *Canterbury*, let any Female but cross his Way, 'tis odds that his Beast will stumble, and throw his Arch-deaconship in the Care-rut, with his whole *Tridentine* Portmantle of Polity and Theology. Yet though I speak these things with some certainty, to evidence them to others would require a more difficult scrutiny. For whatsoever 'twas that befell him, he has been so concern'd of late to stop all Avenues, and every Cranny of Intelligence, that were he to pass through the discipline of sweating, there could not have been more strictness about the Doors and Windows. And then his Physicians on the other side are shut up as close by the Obligation of their Faculty, having all of them sworn Secrecy to *Hippocrates*. Neither is it indeed at first sight probable that if he were so obnoxious to them, one of *sa sweet a Nature* should so openly declare himself against the Non-conformists. Had he been cured by a Jew, so great a Prince as the *Author of the Ecclesiastical Polity* would surely, either out of his Clemency or his Wisdom, have been gracious to the whole Tribe,



Tribe, and for his Doctors sake have at least conniv'd at their Synagogue. He is not the first that Phys. has whisper'd out of his Kingdom: *Rehearsal Comedy p. 17, 18.* And yet if he thought the matter once secured from discovery, I question much whether any other tie could hold him. For I know none so loose from all the restrictions of Humanity as some within his Girdle, and were there a Court of Faculties for that purpose he could not take out more ample dispensations from common Ingenuity and Gratitude. So that there could not have been more conformity betwixt the Person and the Disease, and an *implacable Doctor* could never be better fitted than with that distemper which his *Italian* Author can tell him. *•Fa tregua ma non mai pace.* does sometimes make Truce, but never admits a Pacification. But he is I perceive a very *Secret* one, in another sense than formerly, and perhaps did only publish his malady, the better to disguise it: So that I will not out of respect press this point further. If he should by giving so partial an account fail of a Cure, he is the more excusable; for it will have been the first time that his

Modesty

Modesty did him prejudice! Yet this caution for humanity's sake I would leave with him; That he trust not too much to the Asses Milk in his *Hieringills Dispensatory*; for every one knows that if he have no better Specifick, he will ever and anon be troubled with the Reliques.

But whatever old mischief may possibly lurk in his Body; I am told by one, who pretends to the best intelligence, That this was a new Disease, which spread much through the Nation about last Autumn. I hear not that any dyed of it, and therefore its name is not yet read of in the Bills of Mortality. To be short, as I am certainly inform'd, he was sick of the *Rehearsal Transpos'd*. Then indeed the *Rehearsal Transpos'd* deserv'd a *Reproof*, for exceeding its Commission. I am sorry if that should occasion a distemper, which ordered as Physick; the *Rehearsal Transpos'd* being too only a particular prescription in his case, and not to be applyed to others without special direction. But some curious persons would be licking at it, and molt Men finding it not distastful to the Palate, it grew in a short time to be of common use in the Shops. I perceive

ceive that it wrought a sensible alteration in all that took it; but varying in some for the better, in others for the worse, according to the difference of their Complexions. Some were swoln up to the Throat, some their Heads turn'd round, and others it made their Hearts ake; but all these were but a few in number; most Men found only a little ringing in their Ears, and after its greatest violence, it discharged it self in an innocent fit of uncessant laughter. But the greatest harm it did was to the *Author of the Ecclesiastical Polity*, for whose good it was principally intended: For before he had half taken it, his Spirits began to fail him, and it put him past, not only the common drudgeries of Preaching and reading Prayers, but those other things too which he styles *the innocent comforts of Humane life*. So that he laid it by for a considerable time, and was resolv'd to have taken no more of it; finding it so contrary to his Nature. In that interval, his Humours being stir'd, the pre-dominieering Choller in a short time diffus'd it self so through his Body Ecclesiastick, that it struck him into a deep Jaundice; and his Soul seemed to have set up a guilt Vehicle of the new Lacker.

Lacker. The great little Animal was on a sudden turn'd so Yellow, and grown withall so unwieldy, that he might have past currant for the Elephant upon a Guinny. For as he had long since fore-

told, *having been so inconsiderate as to write Books, and fallen*  
*Cens. Pl. Phil. p. 1.* *so lately under the severe lash of one that knew him not, he was*

his concurring misfortune to be now exposed to the severer commands of those that knew him. The cause was at present much altered from what in his Preface to Bishop Bramhall, and over and above the importunity of the Bookseller, he was now obliged to write in Canonical obedience. But his Yellow Coif rendred him very unfit to appear in publick, and being troubled thus with the Jaundice, and under a necessity of exercising at the same time all the remainders yet left him of Reason, Wit or Invention, 'tis probable that he found indeed cause to complain of a dull and lary distem-

per, and now too late repented, *that he had sold himself*  
*Cens. Pl. Phil. p. 1.* *into so great a slavery. How-*

ever, having driven himself into that Condition, he must now needs go through with

with his task; and therefore the time too being limited, he hastened to bring himself in plight by such common remedies as were next to hand, writing too all the while by girds and snatches hand over head. His other self *Hicringill* (who seems very well informed of all his distempers, and of this particularly) had told him that a Louse was good against the Jaundice, and the *Author of the Ecclesiastical Polity* himself had for all Events the *Sacrament of Rep.p.112* *Lousiness* by him of his own preparation: So that this being much easier to be procured then the Tribute of Fleas was to be collected, there is no doubt to be made, but that he tryed the Vertue of this Medicine. And as the *Tartars* cracking the same Vermin with their Teeth, are used to wish solemnly, that they had their Enemies at the like advantage, so methinks I see how he snapp'd them e're they got down, and ever and anon prayed betwixt the Teeth for the Non-conformists. But he had heard how his old acquaintance Doctor *Rabelais*, upon examination for his degree, answer'd, That if his *Gargantua* were sick, he would prescribe him *Pilulas*  
*Evangelicæ*

*Evangelicas, ex centum libris Aloes & Myrrhæ.* He computed thence, that in his own case the Dose must be proportionable betwixt the Civil and the Ecclesiastical Giant. And if so, that though all Prisons should be depopulated, though *Beggars-bush* pillaged, though the *Phibris* of all former persecutors revived, yet the quantity would not be sufficient; but as once the Incense of all *Arabia* was spent on one Funeral, so the Lice of all the World must be consumed upon his malady: But what he most considered was, That this must necessarily end in an utter dissolution of the Government of *Phibrophagi*, and that contrary to all good Ecclesiastical Polity, the *Presidents of the sacred Rites* (for the other orders of Men 'twas less matter) should in reference to his cure be deprived of that *lean and slender substance* which was yet left them. This would have been a Sacrilege greater, because more universal than to have rifled the Louse out of *St. Francis* his Bosom. So that upon this *Algebra* and Prospect, he desisted at last from the Lousie Diet, part out of his Conscience, and partly out of Impossibility. And had he at the same time betaken himself in good earnest

to the *Extractum Apostoli* of Faith, Hope, and Charity, as a *Succedaneum*, ( for even his second *Rabelais*, Doctor *Hicringill* renders them equivalent to a Louse ) he had been certainly cured both Mind and Body. But some doubt there is that his *Shop-Divines* have not their right Composition of that medicine. However he was not now in case or disposition to take it; and the *Rehearsal Transpos'd*, which after many a grimmass he had now at last gulp'd down, had so terribly disorder'd him, that he had quite forgot there was any such remedy in the ancient *Praxis* of Christianity. But this Gentleman of *So tame*, if you will believe him, and softly an Humour of so cold a Complexion: that he scarce thinks himself capable of hot and passionate impressions; he that is only offended at them who will not suffer themselves to be embraced by those whose unbounded embraces would comprehend all, and *quam alias premittis sit indolis*, was altered beyond all imagination. I cannot determine whether I being but a new

*Greg. p. 93.*

*Rip. p. 21.*

*Pres. to Ec.  
Fel. p. 1.*

*Cens. Pl.  
Phil. p. 25.*

*Tent. Phyr.  
p. 109.*

new

new unlicensed Practitioner, and the *Re-bearſal Transpos'd* my firſt experiment, there might be ſome error in the preparation, and it were too *ſtrong of the Mineral*, or whether it were indeed the extraordinary foulneſs of his Stomack. But it hath brought up ſuch ulcerous ſtuff as never was ſeen; and whereas I intended it only for a *Diaphoretick* to caſt him into a breathing ſweat, it hath had upon him all the effects of a Vomit, Turnep-tops, Froggs, rotten Eggs, Braſs-coppers, Graſhoppers, Pins, Muſhromes, &c. wrapt up together in ſuch balls of Slime and Choller, that they would have burſt the Dragon, and in good earneſt ſeem to have ſomething ſupernatural. Inſomuch that he ſeems not ſo fit at preſent for the Arch-deacons Seat as to take his place below in the Church among the *Energumeni*. But it is poſſible that after ſo notorious an evacuation, he may do better for the future; and it is more then viſible that either his Diſeaſe or his Nature cannot hold out much longer. Therefore I ſhall not grudge from time to time to lend him my beſt aſſiſtance, though I hope that this Iteration will do his buſineſs, and carry off all the dregs of his diſtemper



stemper, And now from what I have said hitherto, and that I may begin so far an accommodation betwixt us, I shall if he please recant and yield that the *asswaging his Concupiscence, and wreaking his malice, has been the highest Pinnacle of his Ecclesiastical Infelicity.*

Having treated him in as short a method as so Chronical a malady would admit, I shall now be enforced to remove some dirt, that I may make my way cleaner to come at him: for otherwise there is no passing, but then I shall quickly have dispatch'd with him. He saith, *I have cowardly and dishonourably accosted him in such a Clow-nish and licentious a way of Writing as I knew to be unsuitable both to the Civility of his Education, and the Gravity of his Profession.* I thought I had in the close of my former book; and all thorow sufficiently satisfied him of the reasons and way of my proceeding with him: but seeing he hath it seems soon forgot them (as Men willingly do, what it is grievous to remember) I shall now at more leisure refresh his memory, and deduce the order of my thoughts upon that and this occasion.

Those

Those that take upon themselves to be Writers, are moved to it either by Ambition or Charity: imagining that they shall do therein something to make themselves famous; or that they can communicate something that may be delightful and profitable to mankind. But therefore it is either way an envious and dangerous employment. For, how well soever it be intended, the World will have some pretence to suspect, that the Author hath both too good a conceit of his own sufficiency, and that by undertaking to teach them, he implicitly accuses their ignorance. So that not to Write at all is much the safer course of life: but if a Mans Fate or *Genius* prompt him otherwise, 'tis necessary that he be copious in matter, solid in reason, methodical in the order of his work; and that the subject be well chosen, the season well fix'd, and, to be short, that his whole production be matur'd to see the light by a just course of time, and judicious deliberation. Otherwise, though with some of these conditions he may perhaps attain commendation; yet without them all he cannot deserve pardon. For indeed whosoever he be that comes in Print, whereas

he

he might have sat at home in quiet, does either make a Treat, or send a Challenge to all Readers; in which cases, the first, it concerns him to have no scarcity of Provisions, and in the other to be completely Arm'd: for if any thing be amiss on either part, Men are subject to scorn the weakness of the Attaque, or laugh at the meanness of the Entertainment. In conclusion, the *Author of the Ecclesiastical Polity* hath in his own particular very fully stated and comprehended this whole matter. For he saith in his Preface to the Reader, that if his Book have any effect (I suppose he means any good effect) he hath a double reward; (that is impossible) that then he hath his own reward; (that is sure to be accounted none of the wisest) and indeed this Reward too is double; for if he fails of his design, he saith, he must confess that he hath lost his Labour and his Understanding.

*Pref. to Rep.*  
*p. penult.*

*Bref. Rep.*  
*p. ult.*

This is the common condition to which every Man that will Write a Book must be content with patience to submit.

But, among all the differences of writing, he that does publish an Invective, does it at his utmost peril, and 'tis but just that it should be so. For a Mans Credit is of so natural and high concernment to him, that the preserving of it better, was perhaps none of the least inducements at first to enter into the bonds of Society, and Civil Government; as that Government too must at one time or other be dissolved where Mens Reputation cannot be under Security. 'Tis dearer than Life it self, and (to use a thought something perhaps too delicate, yet not altogether unreasonable) if beside the Law of Murther, Men have thought fit, out of respect to humane Nature, That whatsoever else moves to the death of Man should be forfeit to pious uses, why should there not as well be Deodands for Reputation? And this I intend not only of those who publish ignominious falsehoods, to whom no Quarter ought to be granted, but even of such partly who by a truth too officious shall procure any Mans infamy. For 'tis better that evil Men should be left in an undisturbed possession of their repute, how unjustly soever they may have acquired it, then that

that the Exchange and Credit of Mankind should be universally shaken, wherein the best too will suffer and be involved. It is one thing to do that which is justifiable, but another that which is commendable; and I suppose every prudent Writer aims at both: but how can the Author of an *Invective*, though never so truly founded, expect approbation (unless from such as love to see mischief at other Mens expence) who, in a World all furnished with subjects of praise, instruction and learned inquiry, shall studiously chuse and set himself apart to comment upon the blemishes and imperfections of some particular person? Such men do seldom miss too of *their own reward*; for whereas those that treat of innocent and benign argument are represented by the *Muses*, they that make it their business to set out others ill-favoredly do pass for *Satyres*, and themselves are sure to be personated with prick-ears, wrinkled horns, cloven feet.

Yet if for once to write in that stile may be lawful, discreet or necessary, to do it a second time is lyable to greater Censure. Not so much because the After-meath seldom or never equals the first

Herbage; ( a Caution not un~~u~~ however for all Authors ) as that by-standers will begin then to suspect, that what they look'd on first as an accident with some divertisement, do's rather proceed from a natural malignity of temper. For few Readers are so ill natur'd but that they are quickly tired with personal and passionate discourses; and when the contest comes to be continued and repeated, if they interests themselves at all, they usually incline and think that the justice lies on the weaker side. But whether the last appeal of Writers lie to the Readers, or to a Mans own ultimate Recollection, this Invective way cannot be truly satisfactory either to themselves or others. For it is a predatory course of life, and indeed but a privateering upon reputation; wherein all that stock of Credit, which an honest Man perhaps hath all his age been toying for, is in an hour or two's reading plunder'd from him by a Free-booter. So that whatsoever be the success, he that chances in these Contests to be Superiour, can at best ( for that is too disputable ) be accounted of the two less unfortunate. And certainly ( as it was usual of old for any Man who had but casually acted in an

un-

unlucky encounter ) he that hath had his Pen once in the Reputation of another, ought to withdraw, and disappear for some time till he has undergone and past through all the Ceremonies of Expiation.

But if the Credit of all Men whatsoever be, and ought to be so well guarded both by Nature, Law, and Discretion, the Clergy certainly of all others ought to be kept and preserv'd sacred in their Reputation. For they being Men of the same Spirit with others, and no less subject to Humane Passions, but confined within the regularity of their Function ; It is indeed unmanly, whatsoever scuffle others may make among themselves, to vilifie or treat them with those affronts which nothing but the respect of Decency or Conscience could hinder them from resenting as well as others. But ( which is more considerable ) whoever too shall fix upon them an ill report, do's thereby frustrate the very effect of their Ministry in proportion. For though Baptism is not to be vacated by the contrary intention of him that officiates, yet few Men will or can be perswaded by his Doctrine, whose practice they conceive to be opposite. A

conversation differing from Doctrine is  
 Spiritual Non-sence: Neither will Men  
 believe by the Ear, when their Eye in-  
 forms them otherwise. If an Artificer  
 indeed make his Work fit for Mens wear-  
 ing, 'tis sufficient: Or if he that Sells  
 have good of the kind, Men inquire no  
 further. No Mans Shooe wrings him the  
 more because of the Hetrodoxy, or the  
 tipling of his Shoo-maker. And a Billet  
 burns as well though bought of whatso-  
 ever Wood-monger: But the Clergy be-  
 ing Men dedicate by their Vocation to  
 teach what is Truth, what Falshood, to  
 deter Men from vice, and lead them unto  
 all virtue: 'tis expected from them, and  
 with good reason, that they should define  
 their opinion by their manners. And  
 therefore Men ought to be chary of asper-  
 sing them on either account, but even  
 reflect upon their failings with some reve-  
 rence. A Clergy-man ought to have  
 treble damages both for his Tithes and his  
 Credit: and it were to be wish'd that  
 with the same ease that their maintenance  
 comes in from the fruits of Mens labour,  
 they had too no less proportion out of the  
 yearly incerease of every Mans Reputati-  
 on: the rest would thrive the better for  
 it.



it. Their virtues are to be celebrated with all encouragement ; and, if their vices be not notoriously palpable, let the Eye as it defends its Organ, so conceal the Object by Connivence.

And yet nevertheless, and all that has been said before being granted, it may so chance that to write, and that Satyrically, and that a second time and a third ; and this too even against a Clergy-man, may be not only excusable but necessary. That I may spare a tedious recapitulation, I shall prove all the rest upon the strongest instance that is in the case of a Clergy-man. For it is not impossible that a man by evil arts may have crept into the Church, thorow the Belfry or at the Windows. 'Tis not improbable that having so got in he should foul the Pulpit, and afterwards the Press, with Opinions destructive to Humane Society and the Christian Religion. That he should illustrate so corrupt Doctrines with as ill a Conversation, and adorn the lasciviousness of his life with an equal petulancy of stile and language. In such a concurrence of misdemeanors what is to be done? Why certainly, how pernicious soever this must be in the example and consequence, yet,

before any private man undertake to obviate it, he ought to expect the judgment of the Diocesan, and the method of the Ecclesiastical Discipline. There was in the ancient times of Christianity a wholesome usage, but now obsolete, which went very far in preventing all these occasions. For whosoever was to receive Ordination, his name was first published to the Congregation in the same way as the Banns of those that enter into Matrimony: and if any could object a sufficient cause against him that was proposed, he was not to be admitted to the Ministry. He that would be a Preacher was to be first himself commented upon by the People, and in the stile of those Ages was said *Prædicari*. But since that circumspection has been devolved into the single oversight of the latter Bishops, it cannot be otherwise, but some one or other may escape into the Church, who were much fitter to be shut out of Doors. Yet then if our great Pastors should but exercise the Wisdom of common Shepherds, by parting with one to stop the infection of the whole Flock, when his rottenness grew notorious; or if our Clergy would but use the instinct of other Creatures,

and

and chase the blown Deer out of their Heard; such mischiefs might quickly be remedied. But on the contrary it happens not seldom that this necessary duty (which is so great a part of true *Ecclesiastical Polity*) is not only neglected, but that persons so dangerous are rather encouraged by their Superiors, and he that, upon their omission, shall but single out one of them, yet shall be exposed to the general out-cry of the Faculty, and be pursued with Bell, Book, and Candle, as a declared and publick enemy of the Clergy. Whereas they ought to consider that by this way of proceeding, they themselves do render that universal which was but individual, and affix a personal crime upon their whole Order, and for want of separating from one obnoxious, do contribute to the causes of separation, justifying so far that Schism which they condemn. In this Case, and supposing such a failure of justice in those whose Province it is to prevent or punish, I ask again what is to be done? Why certainly the next thing had been to admonish him in particular as a Friend does his Friend, or one Christian another. But he that once Printed an ill Book, has thereby

condemne'd his words on purpose lest they should be carried away by the wind, he has diffused his poyson so publickly, in design that it might be beyond his own recollection; and put himself deliberately past the reach of any private admonition. In this Case it is that I think a Clergy-man is laid open to the Pen of any one that knows how to manage it; and that every person who has either Wit, Learning, or Sobriety, is licens'd, if debauch'd to curb him, if erronious to catechize him, and if foul-mouth'd and biting to muzzle him. For they do but abuse themselves who shall any longer consider or reverence such an one as a Clergy-man, who as oft as he undresses degrades himself, and would never have come into the Church but to take Sanctuary. Rather, wheresoever men shall find the footing of so wanton a Satyr out of his own bounds, the neighbourhood ought, notwithstanding all his pretended *capering* Divinity, to hunt him thorow the woods with hounds and horn home to his harbour.

How far and whether at all the *Author of the Ecclesiastical Politie* is culpable on these accounts, I must refer to the Readers judgment upon perusal of my first, and this.

this my second book, though I could much rather wish that Men would be at leisure to take the length of him out of his own discourses. But, had he not appear'd so to me, I should never have molested him, adventur'd my self, or interest'd the Publick by writing in this manner. For I am too conscious of mine own imperfections to rake into and dilate upon the failings of other men; and though I carry always some ill Nature about me, yet it is I hope no more than is in this world necessary for a Preservative; but as for the Clergy, the memory of mine own extraction, and much more my sense of the Sanctity of their function, ingage me peculiarly to esteem and honour them. Inasmuch that for their sakes I bear much respect even to their poor wives, of whom I may say (as Bishop Bramhall, comparing the Readers with the Preachers, and who understood both) that if they come short of other Women in point of Efficacy, yet they have the advantage of other Women in point of Security. And though I am not so inamour'd of them as to worship 'em for Goddesses; yet I am so far

B. Bramh.  
Vind. p.  
160. &  
161.

\* He was the son of Rev. And. Marvel from  
of Kingston upon Hull.

from rejecting them as *Dish-clouts*, that what the *Author of the Ecclesiastical Politie* affirms of the Clergy of the *Pres. to B. Church of England*, I dare *Bramh 41.* averr concerning their Wives, *That taking them under all their disadvantages, they are at this very time vastly the furthest off from being justly conly contemptible (to mention no other Order or Profession of Women) of any Clergy-mens Wives in the World. The pre-eminence is so evident that it clears the comparison from all possible suspicion of being proud or odious.*

Being of this temper there could be no great appearance of my being over-forward to come out in Print in such a Stile against one of his cloath, unless upon some very extraordinary occasion. And such this occasion seemed to me, and so urgent and justifiable that it might absolve me in any Readers opinion. For this sharpness of Stile does indeed for the most part naturally flow from the humour of the Writer; and therefore 'tis observable that few are guilty of it, but either those that write too young, (when it resembles the acidity of juices strain'd from the fruits before they be matured)

or else those that write too old (and then 'tis like the fowness of Liquors, which being near corrupting turn eager) And both these are generally disrellish'd: or if Men do admit them for sawce, yet he must be very thirsty who will take a draught of 'm; whereas the generousest wine drops from the grape naturally, without prelling, and though piquant hath its swetness. And though I cannot arrogate so much as even the similitude of those good qualities to my Writing, yet I dare say that never was there a more pregnant ripeness in the causes. For having read one, two, three, and now four books of the same Author, and of the same subject, which was no less then that weighty matter of *Ecclesiastical Politie* and all its dependances, I observed first, that there was no name to them, a thing of very ill example. For every one that will treat of so nice and tender argument, ought to affix his name, thereby to make himself responsible to the publick for any damage that may arise by his undertaking. Otherwise, though he has a License in his pocket, or be perhaps himself the Licenser, it is but a more authoriz'd way of libelling; and it looks too like a man  
that

that shall lay a train of Gun-powder, and then retire to some obscure place from whence after he has applyed his match, he may solace himself with the mischief: or though it be not so designed, yet the effect is not more probably to stop a flame than to propagate it, and instead of preserving, to subvert and blow up the Government: Whereas if Men were obliged to leave that anonymous and sculking method both of Writing and Licensing, they would certainly grow more careful what opinions they vented, what expressions they used, and we might have miss'd many books that have of late come out by the same authority, contrary to all good manners, and even to the Doctrine of our Church under which they take protection. Had there been no other cause

*Pres. to Ec.  
Pol. p. 19. Let  
the Author of  
the Friendly  
Debate be care-  
ful how he lays  
aside his Vi-  
sage.*

but this, it might have sufficed, and when Ecclesiastical Politie march'd Incognito, and Theology went on mumming, it was no less allowable for any one to use the license of Masquerade to show him, and the rest of 'm the consequence of such practice.

But



But besides this, when I perused his Books, and others of the same patern, I saw that they plainly inroached upon other mens vocations, and that a sort of Divines, among whom he always acted the highest parts, had clann'd together to set up above those of the King and Duke, a new Company of Comedians. Such was their Dramatick and Scenical way of scribbling, and they did so teem with new Plays perpetually, that there was no Post nor Pillar so sacred that was exempt, no not even the walls of *Pauls* it self, much less the *Temple-gate*, from the passing up of the Titles. Infomuch that I have seen a Lacquey that could not read, having been sent to take down the Play for the afternoon, has by mistake brought away the Title of a new Book of Theology. Yet if they did it well, they might perhaps in time get some custom; but alas those great men in the Pulpit how ridiculous do they appear on a Stage, and he that has all his life been cramp'd in a Reading pew at what a loss must he be when he comes to tread

*Pres. to  
Ecc. Pol.  
p. 16. many  
things are  
only de-  
sign'd to  
set off his  
reasonings  
with a Ca-  
mical hu-  
mour and  
pleasant-  
ness.*

tread in whatsoever Theater ! They are so unfit to bear a part among any Civil and Judicious Company, that whatsoever place they may hold in the Church, I am confident they must make all their friends to be but received into the *Nursery*. And had not Mr. *Killegrew* foreseen that they must of course within a little time fall to dirt of themselves, he would ere this to be sure have trounced the *Author of the Ecclesiastical Politie*, for intrenching upon his Patent. But he knew they were below his neglect, and the *Pit* would quickly do their business, and not only hiss but pelt them off the Stage. And I, that had fate so long more quiet than all the rest of the Spectators, could not at last restrain my self from using also the liberty of the House, and revenging the expence of my time and money, by representing the *Author of the Comedy* call'd the *Ecclesiastical Politie* in that Farse of mine own, the *Rehearsal Transpos'd*.

Neither yet was this all that deserved reprehension in his Writings, He useth such a Russian-like stile, and upon which, to my knowledge, he peculiarly values himself, that any one would suspect he had travell'd and convers'd all his life time  
either

either among the Nation of  
 the *Bravo's* and *Filoux*, or else *cen. Plat.*  
 been educated in the Academy *Phil. p. 1.*  
 of the *Venetian* Gallies which  
 he himself was in his second Book so ap-  
 prehensive of, that he never rested until  
 he had found in his third how  
 to supply them with Slaves *Ec. Pol.*  
 out of the Non-conformists. *P. 223.*

But I perceive since that men  
 of his parts can arrive at those perfections  
 fitting but in their Closets and over-  
 hearing the Water-men which others after  
 long Voyages and observation neither  
 would nor could ever attain to. Then  
 the Arrogance which runs through all his  
 Books is insupportable, boasting proudly  
 of himself, vilifying and censuring others  
 to such a degree, that as I never heard  
 any thing equal, so neither any thing like  
 it but the Mountebanks abroad, who after  
 a deal of Scaffold Pageantry to draw audi-  
 ence, entertain them by decrying all others  
 with a Panegyrick of their own Balsam.  
 There is scarce any sort and rank of men  
 ancient or modern, scarce any particular  
 person, though of the most established and  
 just reputation, but he does if he meet  
 them not hale them into his way to inveigh  
 against

against them and trample upon them, may even such as have but a Book, or two, or three before ( perhaps a page, perhaps a line ) been happy in his good opinion, And this he does for the most part in the most bitter manner that is possible: I know not whether I may properly call it Satyrical; but let it go so for once, for what he wants in wit he supplies however in good will, and where the Conceit is deficient, he makes it out always with railing. He scarce ever opens his mouth, but that he may Bite, nor Bites, but that from the *Vesicles* of his Gums he may infuse a Venom. Had he been but innocently dull, he might have been sure no man would have meddled with him: But when there was no end of his buttering one Book upon another, and he still writ worse and worse, with less vigour always, but more virulence, that perpetual grating did indeed set my teeth on edge, and I thought that even the most candid Readers would out of their equity not take it amiss, if at last he did by hearing ill himself, lose part of that pleasure which he had so frequently taken in introducing and speaking hitherto ill of others. For no man needs Letters of Mart against

one

one that is an open Pirate of other mens Credit: and I remember within our time one *Simons*, who rob'd always upon the *Bricolle*, that is to say, never interrupted the Passengers, but still set upon the Thieve, themselves, after that, like Sir *John Falstaff*; they were gorged with a booty; and by this way, so ingenious, that it was scarce criminal, he lived secure and unmolested all his days, with the reputation of a Judge rather than an High-way man.

But my greatest incentive was, as I told him in my former Pamphlet, the perniciousness of the whole design of his Books; tending, in my opinion, to the disturbance of all Government, the misrepresenting of the generous and prudent Counsels of His Majesty, and raising a mis-intelligence betwixt Him and His People; besides his calumniating the whole foraign Protestantcy, his stirring up of persecution against those at home, and his mangling even of Religion it self and Christianity: And to this purpose he suited besitting principles, and to those a Language as harmonious: seeming to have forgot not only all Scripture rules, but even all Scripture expressions; unless  
where

where he either distorts them to his own interpretation, or attempts to make them ridiculous to others; Insomuch, that, of all the Books that ever I read, I must needs say I never saw a Divine guilty of so much ribaldry and prophanenels. Which though it was a matter of such Decency to his undertaking, that I account it to have been even Necessary, yet in the whole I look'd upon as so uncanonical and impious, that it would bear an higher and more deserved accusation then that of *Onias* the Son of *Simeon* the *Just*, for officiating in a Womans Zone instead of the Prietly girdle, and for the sacred Pectoral wearing his Mistresses Stomacher. I must confess that when all these things centred together upon my imagination, and I saw that none of his Superiors offer'd to interpose against an evil so great in it self, and as to me appear'd so publick in the consequence and mischief, I could hold no longer, and I, though the most unfit of many, assumed upon him the Priviledge ( if any such Priviledge there be ) of an English *Zelote*.

Otherwise I indeed look'd upon him, whosoever he were, as a person in parts much my Superior, until the Cause as he took

took and handled it, had depress'd and levell'd his understanding: neither could I ever discover before such an exuberance in mine own, either abilities, which I am sensible how mean, or yet in my inclination, that should tempt me from that modest retiredness to which I had all my life time hitherto been addicted. And truly after I had written, I had so slender an opinion of mine own performance, that I can attribute the acceptance which it found only to his favour, who had so handled the matter, that nothing could have come out at that time against him but must be assured of welcom. And that among the other more weighty causes by reason of his unspeakable arrogance before-mentioned: a Vice so generally odious, that to repress it, is no less grateful; so that *Lucretius* might better have said that to be ——— *hominum divumq; voluptas*; there being scarce any spectacle more pleasing to God and Man then to see the proud humbled. But could I have imagined that my Book could have had either so good or so ill a reception as it diversly met with, I have so much respect to those whom he calls the vulgar, and to whom he bids always Universal contempt  
and

*Cens. Plat.*  
*Pb. p. 34.*  
 and 35.

and defiance as a rout of Wolves and Tigres, Apes and Baboons, that I should however have bestow'd more pains upon it, I know not whether with better success. Yet the errors of that not being now revocable but by asking pardon of whosoever may have innocently mistaken my Book, and declaring, which I do, that if any thing therein do tend to the disparagement of the Church of *England*, I wish it unsaid as it was unthought, and do hereby utterly disclaim it; I took it to be part of my gratitude to go no more to Sea, having been sufficiently toss'd for one man upon the billows of applause and obloquy to put me in mind of a Shipwreck, which when the waves go high, may either way happen. And as to the *Author of the Ecclesiastical Polity* himself, whose person I was so far ignorant of, that I could only take aim at his errors, and much less could intend any other of that function, but those few who might assume to themselves his Character; I found nevertheless after the writing of that Book, that natural relenting of mind which most men feel after they have done an harsh, though necessary action. Inasmuch, that  
 had



had it been in my power to have set him right again in mens opinions, as it was in his to have set himself wrong, I should have certainly done it. But for that, he and every one else may please to believe as they shall see occasion. But this however must be evident which follows.

Whereas I had in that Book, as is in that stile usual, intermixed things apparently fabulous, with others probably true, and that partly out of my uncertainty of the Author, and partly that if he pleas'd he might continue so; it seems however that I chanced to come so near his Form, that it started him, and he thought fit to discover himself. Hereupon, and having understood what he was about, I thought it my duty, if possible, to break off this ruder intercourse for the future, and reduce the matter unto a more manly way of argument. I therefore took care to advertise him that I heard from several hands, That if in the answer intended there were any unjust and personal reflections, it would tend much to the disreputation of himself, and some persons whom he most esteemed, and that there was preparation made to that purpose. Upon this he sent me word, *That*  
if

if any Answer were intended, 'twas more then he was acquainted with, or would concern himself about ; and assured me, my private reputation, nor no mans else, should ever be injur'd in publick by his consent. I do not by quoting this answer of his pretend to sue his Word, to which he is no more a Slave than to the *Venetian* Gallies ( such men being at liberty to comment upon their own as well as other Texts at at their pleasure ) Nevertheless before this, and at that present time as well as ever since, I understood that he had sent out a general *Siquis* thorow his own Province and the other, to make Inquisition concerning me. He voiced my Book all over as a most pernicious Engine bent against the whole body of the Clergy. And upon that pretence he summoned in all that ow'd suit and service to his Court, or the Church of *England*. The whole *Posse Archidiaconatus* was raised to repress me, and great riding there was, and sending post every way to pick out the ablest Ecclesiastical Droles to prepare an Answer. Some came in daily as Volunteers, and others were more mercenary. For certainly there was never such an hubbub made about a sorry Book ; and,

since

since the day of *Bartholomew*, there has not appear'd so great an expectation of an universal Donative. Some one flatter'd himself with being at least a Surrogate ; another was so modest as to set up with being but a Paritor ; while the most generous hoped only to be graciously smiled upon, and well treated at a Dinner : But the more hungry starvelings generally look'd upon it as an immediate Call to a Benefice, and he that could but write an Answer, whatsoever it were, took it for the most dexterous cheap, and legal way of Simony. So that, as is usual upon those occasions, there arose no small competition and mutiny among the Pretenders ; and, it being impossible to satisfy them all, many an one departed with a sad heart and dejected countenance, when their Answers would not pass muster. For it was not every Book that could now be admitted. 'Twas required upon this occasion to gain a License, that there should be some Wit more than ordinary, which most of them could not be at the expence of ; some measure of Impudence, which few of them would pretend to ; and above all such a proportion of Falsehood as might alone have supply'd the

other defects, and made their Books current; but scarce any of them would do it out of good Conscience, For that indeed was now the principal business, and the only argument that, as he had handled it, remain'd to this Cause; and therefore the *Author of the Ecclesiastical Polity* had alter'd his lodgings to a Calumny Office, and kept open chamber for all comers that he might be supplied himself, or supply others as there was occasion. But, though he had been a little choice at first, the informations came in so slenderly, that he was glad to make use of any thing rather than sit out, and there was at last nothing so slight but it grew material, nothing so false but he resolv'd it should go for truth, and what wanted in matter he would make out with invention and artifice. So that he and his remaining Camrades seem'd to have set up a Glass-house, the Model of which he had observed from the height of his window in the Neighbourhood, and the Art he had been initiated into ever since from the Manufacture ( he will criticize because not *Orifacure* ) of *Soape bubbles*, he improved by degrees to the mystery of making *Glass-drops*, and thence in running leaps

leaps mounted by these virtues to be Fellow of the Royal Society, Doctor of Divinity, Parson, Prebend, and Arch-deacon. The Furnace was so hot of it self, that there needed no coals, much less any one to blow them. One burnt the Weed, another calcined the Flint, a third melted down that mixture; but he himself rashion'd all with his breath; and polished with his stile, till out of a meer jelly of Sand and Ashes, he had furnish'd a whole Cupboard of things so brittle and incoherent, that the least touch would break them again in pieces, so transparent that every man might see thorow them.

In the mean time such care was used, that the License of my Book was recall'd, and the *Rehearsal Transposed* was dubb'd a Theological Book, only to bring it under the verge of that Jurisdiction, on purpose that it might be prohibited. It hath indeed been usual to degrade a Priest, or scrape a shaven crown to deface his character before he were deliver'd over to secular justice; But this was a strange and contrary to method to force a poor Book into Holy Orders; that so it might be subjected to censure and execution by the ordinary. This was an honour which

to my knowledge the poor Book neither affected nor deserved ; though indeed it might have deserved it as well as the *Preface to Bishop Bramhall*, which occasion'd its Writing, and that 'tis true came out in state under the Title of a Theological Book in the Printed Catalogue of that year, as several others do of the same nature. When he had thus provided that my Book should not speak for it self, and moreover used means, which having proved ineffectual I shall not particularize, to obstruct me from liberty of ever vindicating it for the future ; it seem'd to him the most favourable season that ever was or could have been invented to keep his promise, and to publish his Answers to preserve *my private reputation*. For one Answer would not suffice ; but therefore, to fit his ware for the purse and fancies of all Chapmen, and to *ingratiate* not only the *Book-sellers* but the Pedlers ; he order'd the matter so and digested it into several Volumes, that a man might buy a Groat, Six pence, a Shilling, Eighteen pence, Half a Crown, or Five Shillings-worth of Theological Wit and Verity, as he saw occasion. The rest issued promiscuously ; only before that which was to bear his  
own

own character, and the other which was to be call'd *Hicringills* were divulged, he procured that I should be asked by good Authority whether the *Rebearsal Transpos'd* were of my doing, which I under my hand avow'd. By this means he had gained however three points, as he imagined. The first, that he should thereby have some months time more to mature two such excellent pieces, which he intended as the *Hercules Pillars*, and *Ne-plus-ultra*s of the Reason, Wit, Sobriety, Good-breeding and Orthodoxy of the Clergy of the Church of *England*. The next that he should now be able to take such certain aim at me, that he might every shot he made, hit me in the eye, or at least ( for I have to do with a very critical adversary ) in its Cavity, for I suppose his first arrow must have struck the eye out. And the last doubtless, that having let me know that he would not concern himself, and assured me that my private reputation, nor any mans else should ever by him be injured in publick, he might, now be understood I was the professed Author, give by these Books so ample testimonial of his own Veracity. Though for some other reasons beside this last I rather con-

ceive it might have been more expedient  
 for him not to have been so inquisitive of  
 the Author, or at least after he had learnt  
 it not to have taken that notice of me.  
 Not that I assume to my self any of those  
 lineaments wherewith he describes me ;  
 but however after I had owned the *Re-  
 hearsal Transpos'd*, whatsoever in either  
 of his Books he reflects upon the Author,  
 he must acknowledge as said by himself of  
 me, and directed to me. At last when  
 all other clancular contrivance against me  
 had failed him, these two Books also  
 which he had kept in reserve, were in some  
 hast Printed off; his day of Marriage  
 too drawing fast on, which he intended  
 to calender by a victory, and would per-  
 haps have been deferr'd longer by the  
 Friends, had he not first signaliz'd his  
 prowess. So that now there were no less  
 than half a dozen Answers out against me  
 (not to mention several other Pamphlets  
 wherein the Authors or Book-sellers by  
 drawing in but by head and shoulders one  
 line perhaps concerning the *Rehearsal  
 Transpos'd*, or by only naming it hoped  
 to procure vent or better their livelyhood)  
 He had thus got a *Sixiesme du valet* in his  
 hand already, and if he can but show three  
 more



more of the same Honour to make a *Quar-  
torze*, I am repiqued inevitably and spoyl'd  
for a Gamster by a Dignitary much Super-  
rior to him of *Lincoln*. There were no  
less than six *Scaramuccios* together upon  
the Stage, all of them the same gravity  
and behaviour, the same tone, the same  
habit, that it was impossible to discern  
which was the *Author of the Ecclesiastical  
Polity*. I believe he imitated the Wisdom  
of some other Princes, who have some-  
times been perswaded by their Servants to  
disguise several others in the Regal garb,  
that the enemy might not know in the  
battel whom to single. But for my part  
though I know that several Gentlemen,  
and some of them Divines, are commonly  
named as the Authors of those Books, yet  
they are persons for the most part of more  
Candor, Learning, and good Judgment  
than that I should suspect the truth of it,  
or that they could possibly descend to so  
mean and contrary an undertaking. And  
even that *Gregory Greybeard*, which alone  
of all the six pretends to a Father, and to  
be writ by one that hath not only a Sir-  
name, but a Christen-name also, it sounds  
so strangely and unlike the name of any  
humane creatures that rather than so, it

it seems to me a word of Cipher, like the *Smedlymum* formerly of the Presbyterians, and so *Hicringill* to denote the Club of this whole party. But it is more probably by much the issue of the very same *Author of the Ecclesiastical Polity*. If it should be any other, 'tis a thing more remarkable than what is reported of the two learned brothers of *St. Marthe*, who being Twins, and living to a great age, were so like one another, that they were not to be distinguish'd, but that one wore a Plain-band, and the other a Ruff: nay, their minds had no less similitude; inso-much that, having with-drawn all day to study at any time on the same subject, when they come to compare at night they should find that they had light for the most part upon the same conceptions. For he that shall read the *Reproof to the Re-bearfal Transpros'd*, and then this *Hicringill*, will discern so little difference in their expressions, humour and thoughts (such as no man else could have hit upon) as he must necessarily infer and conclude that they are the works of one and the same Artificer, and so much I can prove that, if any one were not of his penning, yet all of them pass'd under his Inspection,

Ap.

Approbation, or License. So that upon perusal of all those Books that have appeared in so many several shapes against me, first *Rosemary and Bayes*, then the *Common Places*, next the *Transproser Re-bears'd*, fourthly *S'too him Bays*, afterwards the *Reproof*, and in fine, *Gregory Gray-beard*; I find plainly that 'tis but the same Ghost that hath haunted me in these differing Dresses and Vehicle. Insomuch that upon consideration of so various an identity, methinks after so many years I begin to understand Doctor *Donn's* Progress of the Soul, which pass'd through no fewer revolutions, and had hitherto puzzled all its Readers.

For ——— This Great Soul, which here  
amongst us now  
Does dwell, and ——— to which Lu- St. 7.  
ther and Mahomet were  
Prisons of flesh, this Soul which oft did  
tear  
And mend the wracks of th' Empire and  
late Rome,  
And liv'd when every great Change did  
come.

Did nevertheless fix it self at first in so  
mean a condition as is scarce

St. 9.      credible, in a chaste and inno-  
cent Apple. But that being  
soon pluck'd, it betook it self into a Man-  
drake, and

*To show that in Loves business he  
should still*

St. 15.    *A dealer be and be us'd well or ill,  
His Apples kindle, his Leaves  
force of conception kill.*

( 'Tis pity that his Curate of Ickham was  
not acquainted with its virtues. ) From  
this it took its flight into a Sparrow,  
and lived a chirping life, as is there de-  
scribed,

St. 20.    *Already this hot Cock, in bush and  
tree,*

*In Field and Tent o'refluters its next  
Hen, &c.*

From thence it dropp'd, I  
St. 23.    know not how, into a little

St. 25.    Fish: after that, into another  
little Fish; and there learnt  
the Art of Tipling, which it practis'd

for

for some time in that moderate proportion. But next, in its third swimming leap, it pitch'd into a Whale, and grew up to be the great Leviathan ——— Now drinks  
 St. 31.  
 be up Seas, ——— St. 34.

————— and ever as he went,  
 He spouted rivers up ——— St. 32.

Immediately after this, the Soul by some misadventure dwindled into a Mouse, but a very busie Mouse, and of great design: So that

————— Being late taught that St. 38.  
 great things might be less  
 Be slain, to gallant mischief it doth it self  
 address:

and pick'd out no less opposite than an Elephant to buckle with,

Who foe to none, suspects no ene- St. 39.  
 mies, &c.

and having crept up thorow his Trunk, was gnawing his Brain-strings afunder, but suddenly was crush'd under the ruines  
 of

- of so great an adversary. In  
 St. 41. procel of time it enter'd into  
 a Wolf, and infested Abel's  
 flock ;

*Abel as white and mild as his sheep were,  
 Who, in that Trade of Church and King-  
 dom's there  
 was the first type ———*

- St. 42. but being hindred by a vigi-  
 lant Bitch, the Wolf corrup-  
 ted her to his purpose ; yet at last was  
 taken in a trap and kill'd. But straight  
 it enter'd into the young Ly-

- St. 43. cisca, that was new knotted,  
 and by the whelp growing up  
 was imploy'd by Abel in keeping the  
 same Flock, but the Mungrel was not to  
 be trusted, for partaking of both na-  
 tures,

- St. 45. *He as his Damme from Sheep drove  
 Wolves away,*

*And as his Sire he made them his own  
 prey.*

- Five years he liv'd, and cozened with his  
 Trade :*

and

and then coming at last to be discovered,

*From Dogs a Wolf, from Wolves a Dog  
b' fled:*

*And like a Spy, to both sides false, be  
be perished.*

The Soul being then at a loss, got admittance into an Ape, which being very facetious and full of Gambolls, grew into great favour with Madam *Siphatetia*: but for some ugly tricks, and making too bold with his Mistresses *Apron*, he was with a great stone knock'd dead by *Thebomite* her Brother. After this Soul had passed thorow so many Brutes, and been hunted from Post to Pillar, its last receptacle was in the humane nature, and it housed it self in a female Conception, which after it came to years of consent, was Married to *Cain* by the name of *Themeeb*. This was the sum of that witty fable of Doctor *Donne's*, which if it do not perfectly suit with all the transmigrations of mine Answerer, the *Author of the Ecclesiastical Politie*, nor equal the Progress of so great a Prince, yet whoever will be so curious as himself, to read that Poem, may follow the parallel much  
fur-

ther than I have done, lest I should be tedious to the Reader by too long and exact a similitude. But if it do not quadrate here, the resemblance will perhaps be more visible upon the examination of what remains to be consider'd next to the *Gravity of his Profession*, that is the *Civility of his Education*, which he charges me by my former Book to have discomposed. For it is the interest of the Publick, especially he appealing to it upon this particular, that it should remain upon Record how Syllogistical a life his hath been to the Stile and Principles that he has managed and prosecuted,

Whoever shall go back to trace his Original, will quickly beat a stand, and find themselves so soon involved in the Fabulous Age, that they will run astray and be benighted in his History before noon. They will find his *Satire* to have reigned much later than *William the Conquerour*; or if, like a true born *Arcadian*, he derive himself from before the Moon, it must be understood concerning the last Change. I cannot yet learn, though he hath employed me long about it, who was his Grand-father: But, as modern as he must have been, 'tis the certainer Heraldry to



extract him from a *Vesicle of the Earth*, and let him go for the Grand son of a *Pimple*. For no Prince how great soever begets his Predecessors, and the noblest Rivers are not Navigable to the Fountain. Even the Parentage of the *Nile* is yet in obscurity, and 'tis a dispute among Authors whether *Snow* be not the head of his Pedigree. I read indeed as long ago as in the Reign of *Edward the 4th.* concerning one *Henry Parker*, a Carmelite Friar, who having preach'd against the secular grandeur and pomp of the Clergy in those times, was forced to make a publick Recantation at *Pauls-Cross*. But this is too obsolete: and though otherwise the Analogy might easily be propagated, yet I suppose the honest Monk kept to his vow of Continence: and besides, should the *Author of the Ecclesiastical Policie* descend from that Line, it would make too great a Solecism in his Scutcheon. There was also in the latter end of *Queen Elizabeth*, and beginning of *King James*, one *Robert Parker*, the *Author* of another kind of *Ecclesiastical Polity*, a Learned, but severe Non-conformist, who writ also the book *de Cruce*, for which he was forced to cross the Seas.

But,

But neither can I find him to come within the proportion of time or Scale of his Genealogy. — Therefore to come nearer, I find in the Reign of the late King *Charles* one *Humphrey Parker*, Yeoman, who together with Mr. *Chancey*, for opposing the Rails about the Communion Table at *Ware*, was sentenced to make a solemn submission and acknowledgment of his fault, as he did accordingly. There are several Arguments that might incline me to think the *Author of the Ecclesiastical Polity* is com'd of his Succession, and one particularly, because in the Record I read that this *Humphrey* took a Journey upon this occasion into *Northampton-shire*, the seat of the *Answerers Family*. But that which seems to come nearest home to him and the Chronology of his Grandfather, is in the year 1640. in a Petition from the City of *London* and several Counties to the then Parliament; complaining among other things of *Martin Parkers* Ballads, in disgrace of Religion, to the increase of all vice, and withdrawing of People from reading, studying and hearing the Word of God and other good Books. 'Tis not at all unlikely that this, as an hereditary provocation, hath stuck upon him ever since,

since, and that he swore at the Altar when  
 he was but nine years old, to be avenged  
 for this affront to his lineage. We see  
 often that the signature of the Grand-  
 father revives upon the child, and, as some  
 Rivers diving for a while under ground,  
 makes a Bridge of the Parents to spring  
 up again at that interval. Hence doubt-  
 less hath proceeded all his peek against the  
 Non-conformists; hence that unquench-  
 able *Nemesis* against the City; hence it is  
 that he hath taken upon him to defend in  
 gross at this time the whole mass of enor-  
 mities, right or wrong, then complained  
 of in that Petition: all this mischief for  
 a Ballad-makers sake of the kindred. The  
 Duke of *Muscovy* indeed declared War  
 against *Poland*, because he and his Nation  
 had been vilified by a *Polish* Poet: but the  
*Author of the Ecclesiastical Polity* would it  
 seems disturb the peace of Christendom  
 for the good old cause of a superannuated  
 Chanter of *Saffron-hill* and *Pye-Corner*.  
 But though indeed he doth not write his  
 Books in the *Smithfield Meetre*, yet they  
 are all Blank Ballad, and the subject and  
 consequence to the disgrace of Religion, the  
 increase of all Vice, and wish-drawing people  
 from reading, studying, and bearing the  
 Word

*Word of God, and other good Books is exactly the same.* So that he may when he will put in for Letters of Administration in the Prerogative Court, and enter his Claim too with the Heralds: for every one will yield him to be the next of kin to that Author; or let him but produce his own Writings, 'tis Evidence sufficient, If it should prove otherwise, the fault is in his own obscurity, that hath left all the Neighbourhood and me in the dark; and let him make what shift he will to procure himself a Grand-father, for I have taken pains enough, I am sure, to help him to one.

But however for that matter, let the worst to come to the worst, he had a Mother undeniably and probably a Father: Otherwise he would be shrowdly disappointed, and in a worse case then *Prince Prettyman* lamenting.

*Ribbatsal  
Comedy p.  
27.*

*What Oracle this Secret can evince,  
Sometimes a Fishers Son, sometimes a  
Prince:*

*It is a secret great, as is the world,  
In which I like the Soul am toss'd and  
hurPd:*

And

And he might with good reason exclaim  
more pathetically ——— Bring in my Fa-  
ther, why d'ye keep him from me? Al-  
though a Fisherman, he is my Father.

Was ever Son yet brought to this distress,  
To be for being a Son made  
fatherless?

Ob you just Heavens! rob me *Rehearsal*  
Not of a Father: *Com. p. 26.*

The being of a Son take from me rather.

His Mother is said to have been an honest  
Yeoman's Daughter, and to have been his  
Fathers Servant, with whom she lived  
with good reputation, and so ever since  
her marriage; except what disgrace may  
have reflected from her issue, which being  
her grief and misfortune ought not to be  
her scandal. But though he came of a  
good Mother, he had a very ill Sire. He  
was a man bred toward the Law, and be-  
took himself, as his best practice, to be a  
Sub-Committee man, or, as the stile ran,  
one of the Assistant Committee in Nor-  
thampton-shire. In the rapine of that em-  
ployment, and what he got by picking  
the teeth of his Masters he sustained him-  
self, till he had raked together some little  
estate

estate. And then being a man for the purpose, and that had begun his fortune out of the sequestration of the Estates of the Kings party, he to perfect it the more, proceeded to take away their Lives; not in the hot and Military way (which diminishes always the offence) but in the cooler blood and sedentary execution of an High Court of Justice. Accordingly he was preferred to be one of that number that gave Sentence against the three Lords, *Capel, Holland, and Hamilton*, who were beheaded. By this Learning in the Law he became worthy of the degree of a Serjeant, and sometimes go to the Circuit till for misdemeanor he was Petition'd against. But for a taste of his abilities, and the more to re-ingratiating himself, he printed in the year 1650. a very remarkable Book called *The Government of the People of England, precedent and present the same. Ad subscribentes confirmandum, Dubitantes informandum, Opponentibus convincendum*; and underneath, *Multa videntur quæ non sunt, Multa sunt quæ non videntur*. Under that ingraven, two Hands joyn'd with the Motto, *Ut unamur*, and beneath a Sheaf of Arrows with this Device, *Unita fortior* and to conclude, *Concordia parva res*

*res crescunt Discordia dilabuntur.* A most Hieroglyphical Title, and sufficient to have supplied the Mantlings and Atchievements of the Family! By these Parents he was sent to *Oxford*, with intention to breed him up to the Ministry. There in a short time he enter'd himself into the Company of some young Students who were used to Fast and Pray weekly together, but for their refection fed sometimes on a Broth, from whence they were commonly call'd *Grenellers*: only it was observed that he was wont still to put more *Graves* then all the rest in his Porridge. And after that he pick'd acquaintance not only with the Brotherhood at *Wadham Colledge*, but with the *Sisterhood* too at another old *Elfisheths*, one *Elizabeth Hampton's*, a plain devout Woman, where he train'd himself up in hearing their Sermons and Prayers, receiving also the Sacrament in the House, till he had gain'd such proficiencie that he too began to exercise in that Meeting, and was esteem'd one of the *preciousst* young men in the University. But when thus, after several years approbation, he was even ready to have taken the charge not of an *admiring drove* or *beard*, as he now calls them, but of a Flock upon him, by great misfortune, the

the King came in by the miraculous providence of God influencing the distractions of some, the good affections of others, and the weariness of all towards that happy Restauration, after so many sufferings to his Regal Crown and Dignity. Nevertheless, he broke not off yet from his former habitudes, and though it were now too late to obviate this inconvenience, yet he persisted, as far as in him was, that is by praying, caballing and discouraging to obstruct the restoring of the Episcopal Government, Revenues, and Authority. Insomuch that finding himself discountenanced on those accounts by the then Warden of *Wadham*, he shifted Colledges to *Trinity*, and, when there, went away without his Degree, scrupling forsooth the subscription then required. From thence he came to *London*, where he spent a considerable time in creeping into all Corners and Companies, Horoscoping up and down concerning the duration of the Government: not considering any thing as best, but as most lasting and most profitable. And, after having many times cast a figure, he at last satisfied himself that the Episcopal Government would endure as long as this King lived, and from thence



thence forward cast about how to be admitted into the Church of *England*, and find the High-way to her preferments. In order to this he daily enlarged, not only his Conversation but his Conscience, and was made free of some of the Town-vices: imagining like *Muleasses* King of *Tunes* (for I take witness that on all occasions I treat him rather above his quality, then otherwise) that by hiding himself among the Onyons, he should escape being traced by his Perfumes. Ignorant and mistaken man, that thought it necessary to part with any virtue to get a Living; or that the Church of *England* did not require and incourage more sobriety than he could ever be guilty of: whereas it hath always been fruitful of men, who, together with obedience to that Discipline, have lived to the envy of the Non-conformists in their conversation, and without such could never either have been preserved so long or after so long a dissipation have ever recover'd. But neither was this yet in his opinion sufficient; and therefore he resolv'd to try a shorter path which some few men have trod not unsuccessfully: that is, to print a Book, if that would not do, a second, if not that,  
a third

a third of an higher extraction and so forward, to give experiment against their former party of a keen stile and a Ductile judgment. His first Proof-piece was in the year 1665. the *Tentamina Physico theologica*: a tedious transcript of his Common place Book, wherein there is very little of his own, but the arrogance and the unparallel'd censoriousness that he exercises over all other Writers, beside his undutiful inveying even then then against the *Vesicles of ebr Earth* for meer bubbles, as he did shortly after against his Fathers Memory, and in his Mothers presence before several witnesses, for a couple of *winning Phanaticks*. However he accounted it a safe Book, on all sides, it being of so trite and confessed an argument, that few judicious men would read it to examine the errours: and in so rough and scabbed a *Latine*, that a man must have long nails, and those sharper than ordinary, to distinguish betwixt the Skin and the Disease, the Faults and the Grammar. To omit his usual volume and circumference of periods; which though he takes always to be his chiefeest strength, yet indeed, like too great a Line, weakens the defense, and requires too many men  
to

to make it good. But the cause being against Atheism, he was secure that none would attaque him. For whether there be any Atheists is some controversie, and he is Compurgator for most of 'm: or if there be such, yet they know the Bastions are all undermined and they should be blown up as soon as enter'd. But let him shew me any Atheist that he hath reduced by his Book, unless he may pretend to have converted some (as in the old *Florentine Wars*) by meer tiring them out, and perfect weariness. In this Treatise however it was difficult for him to have hedged in the Non-conformists: only here and there he sprinkles a glittering ore, to give hopes of a vein underneath of such metal as might by a skilful hand be founded into any figure; and having shown as he thought sufficiently that he believ'd there was a God, he imagin'd that thenceforward, write what, and against whom he would, it might pass as indisputably; that all would be current which past his Touch-stone; that as his Predecessor *Midas* turned into Gold whatsoever he touched, so every thing by his handling should be transmuted to Orthodoxy. When he had Cook'd up these musty Col-

lections, he makes his first invitation to his *old Acquaintance* my Lord Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, who had never seen before nor heard of him. But I must confess he furbishes up his Grace in so glorious an Epistle, that, had not my Lord been long since proof against the most Spiritual Flattery, the Dedication only without ever reading the Book, might have served to have fix'd him from that instant as his Favourite. Yet all this I perceive did not his work, but his Grace was so unmindful, or rather so prudent, that the Gentleman thought it necessary to spur up again the next year with another new Book to show more plainly what he would be at. This he dedicates to Doctor *Bathurst*, and to evidence from the very Epistle, that he was ready to renounce that very Education the Civility of which he is so tender of as to blame me for disordering it, he picks occasion to tell him: *to your prevailing advise, Sir, do I owe my first rescue from the Chains and Fetters of an unhappy Education.* But in the Book which he calls, *a free and impartial Censure of the Platonick Philosophy*, (censure 'tis sure to be whatsoever he writes) he speaks out, and demonstrates himself ready and equipp'd to sur-

surrender not only the Cause, but betray his party without making any Conditions for them, and to appear forthwith himself in the head of the contrary Interest. Which supposing the dispute to be just, yet in him was so mercenary, that none would have descended to act his part but a Divine of Fortune. And even Lawyers take themselves excused from being of Counsel for the King himself, in a Cause where they have been entertain'd and instructed by their Client. But so suppliant he was, and forward in this Book, that, in despite of all Chronology, he could introduce *Plato* to inveigh against *Calvin*, and from the *Platoniques* he could miraculously hook in a Discourse against the Non-conformists. After this feat of activity he was ready to leap over the Moon: no scruple of Conscience could stand in his way, and no preferment seemed too high for him; For about this time, I find that having taken a turn at *Cambridge*, to qualify himself, he was received within doors to be my Lord Arch-bishops other Chaplain, and into some degree of favour: which, considering the difference of their humours and ages, was somewhat surprising.

prizing. But, whether indeed in times of heat and faction the most temperate Spirits may sometimes chance to take delight in one that is spiteful, and make some use of him; or whether it be that even the most grave and serious persons do for relaxation divert themselves willingly by whiles with a Creature that is unlucky, nimical and gamesome; so it was. And thence forward the nimble Gentleman danced upon Bell-ropes, vaulted from Steeple to Steeple, and cut Capers out of one Dignity to another. Having thus dexterously stuck his Groat in *Lambeth* Wainscot it may easily be conceived he would be unwilling to lose it, and therefore he concern'd himself highly, and even to jealousy in upholding now that Palace, which if falling, he would out of instinct be the first should leave it. His Majesty about that time labouring to effect his constant promises of Indulgence to his people, the Author therefore walking with his own shadow in the evening took a great fright lest all were ago. And in this conceit being resolv'd to make good his Figure; and that one Government should not last any longer than the other, he set himself to write those dangerous Books which I have now to do with: wherein,

he first makes all that he will to be Law, and then whatsoever is Law to be Divinity. And I shall appeal to all Readers, and I hope make it good, that never in any age, by any man (that I may not say any Church-man) have there been published Discourses either so erroneously founded, or so foully managed, or of so pernicious consequence. In conclusion, this is that man who insists so much, and stirrups himself upon the Gravity of his Profession, and the Civility of his Education: which if he had in the least observed in respect either to himself or others, I should, I could never have made so bold with him. And nevertheless, it being so necessary to represent him in his own likeness, that it may appear what he is to others, and to himself, if possibly he might at last correct his indecencies, I have not committed any fault of stile, nor even this tediousness, but in his imitation. I have not used any harsh expressions but what were suitable to that Civility of Education which he practises, and that Gravity of Profession which he hath set up of: and even therein I have taken care, beside what my nature hath taken care for, to shoot below the mark, & not to retaliate

to the same degree; being willing, as I must yield him the preference for many good qualities, so in his worst however to give him the precedence. And yet withall that it hath been thus far the odious-est task that ever I undertook, and has look'd to me all the while like the cruelty of a Living Dissection, which, however it may tend to publick instruction, and though I have pick'd out the most noxious Creature to be anatomiz'd, yet doth scarce excuse or recompence the offensiveness of the scent and fouling of my fingers. Therefore I will hear break off abruptly, leaving many a vein not laid open, and many a passage not search'd into, nor read any further upon this Soul of the World, or prosecute afresh its allegory from the Apple, the Mandrake, the Sparrow, the Fishes, the Mouse, the Mungrel, the Ape, unto the day of Marriage, but leave the Moral to the judicious. And I could here take advantage perhaps plausible enough, to put a final conclusion to this whole book, for if a man hath taken off his railing, he hath therein answered his Argument. But if I have undergone the drudgery of the more leathsome part already, I will not defraud my self of what  
is



is more truly pleasant, and remains behind the lighter burthen, the conflict with, if it may be so call'd his Reason. For his whole book is, according to his usual Address, a Letter to me, and it concerns my Civility to return an Answer to every part of it. He hath ask'd me many questions, and I take my self obliged to resolve them. And he hath promised me the Press shall be open; neither would I therefore be behind hand with him in courtesie.

So that I have now only three things of which he hath made it necessary that I caution the Reader. The first is not to be misled by a pestilent way that he has of Younging me, and so making me an Epidemical person, affixing thereby what hath ever, he pretends to have been said or done by any in the Cause of Non-conformity at any time to my account: although it never hath enter'd into my Book or Imagination, and he had been more kind, if, as sometimes he does out of civility he had Thoud me to the end of the Chapter. The second is not on the other part to impute any errors or weakness of mine to the Non-conformists, nor mistake me for one of them, ( not that I fly it as a

reproach, but rather honour the most scrupulous: ) for I write only what I think befits all men in Humanity, Christianity and Prudence towards Dissenters. The last is not to think that I am any such old Acquaintance as he claims, to insinuate me of dis-ingenuity, for of our acquaintance I shall give account hereafter.

THat which gave me the first occasion of Writing was, as I have said formerly, his third *Crambe*, of the same purulent matter, and virulent stile, the *Preface to Bishop Bramhall*: and against that and its incomparable extravagancies was my whole Discourse bent and levell'd. Only about the middle of mine I touch'd in passing upon some points of his other Treatises, that is, *the Power of the Magistrate, Conscience, Morality, Debauchery, Persecution, &c.* But he, whether by mistake or on purpose, turns my method quite backward, and, avoiding that which was direct for what is but collateral, begins in his second page, in his usual Military Metaphors of *Attack, Front and Rear, &c.* with the Ninety seventh of my Book:

This

This however, is an accident that hath  
 befallen other great Commanders as well  
 as himself. For his Ancient Friend, *Wil-*  
*liam the Conqueror*, at the Battel of *Ha-*  
*stings*, had in the same manner the back of  
 his Cuirasses placed before, by the error  
 of him that put them on. The thing is  
 ominous I doubt to the *Author of the Ec-*  
*clesiastical Politie*, and assuredly (as the  
 Duke then said) *This day his Fortune will*  
*turn; and he will be a King or nothing before*  
*night.* Yet I will not decline the pursuit,  
 but plod on after him in his own way,  
 thorow thick and thin, hill or dale, over  
 hedge and ditch wherever he leads; till  
 I have laid hand on him, and deliver'd  
 him bound either to Reason or Laughter,  
 to Justice or Pity. If at any turn he gives  
 me the least opportunity to be serious I  
 shall gladly take it: but where he prevari-  
 cates or is scurrilous (and where is he  
 not?) I shall treat him betwixt Jest and  
 Earnest. That which is solid and sharp,  
 being imp'd by something more light and  
 airy, may carry further and pierce deeper,  
 and therefore I shall look to it as well as I  
 can, that mine Arrows be well pointed,  
 and of mine own whetting; but for the  
 Feathers I must borrow them out of his

Wing. Neither yet would I have this similitude improv'd to his disparagement : for he is a Bird of Prey, and an High-flyer, and, though he hath lessen'd himself by the Height of his Place, he cannot certainly be other than an Eagle, and perhaps the same fate may attend him.

First therefore, as to the Power of the Magistrate he saith in gross : that the *Supream Government of every*

*Et. Pol.*

*p. 27, 28.*

*35, &c.*

*Common-wealth must of Necessity be Universal, Uncontroulable, Indispensible, Unlimited, and*

*Absolute in all affairs whatsoever that concern the Interests of Mankind and the ends of Government ; as well in matters of Religion as in all other Civil concerns. This*

*is I confess pretty strongly worded, and drawn up doubtless by the advice of his Counsel Learned : But if these be terms unknown yet in our Law, we must refer it to the Supream Government to define*

*their signification. However,*

*Et. Pol.*

*p. 109.*

*if it be not Law, 'tis pity but it were so. 'Tis the very*

*Elixir Potestatis and Magisterium*

*Dominii: So fine a thing that no man living but would be inamour'd with it :*

*For, wot ye well, it is a Power he saith*

*established*

established of yore, at or before the beginning of the World, ere there was any such thing known or thought of, as Periwigs or Glass-Coaches by the unalterable dictates of Natural Reason and Universal Practice and Consent of Nations. Only in the Jewish Common wealth

for some peculiar Reasons of State, (which he knows but will not tell us) 'twas for

Ec. Pol.

P. 32.

some time otherwise. But this Power was antecedent to

P. 33.

Christ himself, and it was so well founded, that there was none, or very little need of the Authority of the Scripture in the Case, and therefore the Scripture rather supposes than asserts this Jurisdiction. Yet in our Saviours time, and for some while after there

was such a Posture of Affairs,

P. 37.

and such an unhappy Juncture of

P. 38.

Affairs (how mechanically he expresses it?) that, while the Heathen Princes enjoy'd

Ec. Pol.

P. 40.

this Power by the Antecedent Right of Sovereignty, and accordingly exercised it over Christians, 'twas also necessary to supply it among them by Measures of Severity. But when

P. 48.

quce

once Christianity became the Imperial Religion, this Power began to resettle where Nature had placed it, and so the World jog'd

on, and its Affairs were competently well Govern'd (though better or worse, according to the

P. 54. wisdom and vigilance of the several Emperors.) till the Bishop of Rome, seeing this Power to be so rich and beautiful a Creature began to cast a sweet Eye on her, and, by the address of his constant solicitation and courtship carried her sheer away from all the Princes of Christendom. So this Jewel of the Crown was for several hundred of years imbezeld, till Henry the 8th. and other Princes found it again by chance in the ruins of an old Monastery at the Reformation. But

though the Wisdom of the elder

P. 32. Ages had always practis'd this

P. 58. Power, yet since that Governors

P. 229. have not been thorowly instructed in its Nature and Extent, Go-

vernment hath not been rightly understood nor duely managed, the Reformation hath

not been able to resettle Princes

P. 58. in their full and Natural rights.

What will not the man deserve that can show them better, and teach Go-

vernors.

vernors a Receipt against so Chronical Negligence and Ignorance? So little have Princes understood their own Interests. So fatal has been their miscarriage. Send for a

p. 19.

Physician ere they be all out of hope, and while there is yet some life in 'em. But he will do well to make sure of his Fee before-hand, as those that sold the *Iderus*, a Bird good against the Jaundise, hid it till they were pay'd, lest the buyer at first sight be cured. The Great Secret after all is, that the Prince may, and hath Power to transfer

p. 32.

the Exercise of the Priesthood upon another, and that he may if he please reserve it to himself. Is this all? The notion is something new indeed; but he hath deduced it very well, and 'tis pretty probable: though I have known the time, and many others may remember it when it would not have been granted. I make account the *Author of the Ecclesiastical Politie* is sufficiently impowred by the whole Clergy, at least of England: and doubtless therefore His Majesty, among other Princes, will if he find it good and for his service accept the Donation, not much inferiour to that of *Constantine*.

*stantine.* 'Tis a great piece of gratitude now in them, and 'twould have done well and more seasonably, had his late Majesty before the War been informed by them in this particular and the dependances. But I have some reason to be jealous that the *Author of the Ecclesiastical Politie* is not thus liberal without some design; that he hath some job or other to be done, and how Unlimited and Absolute soever he hath made and declared the Magistrate, there is some condition annex'd upon failure of which this Fiefe shall Reincamerate. For he was of another opini-

on in his *Preface to Bishop Bramhall*, when he said *all Government does and must owe its*

*quiet and continuance to the Churches Patronage.* Yes: there is another *Croisade* to be undertaken, and he hath a project in his head to ingage all Princes in a war against Non-conformity,

*Pref. Ecc.* a second *Bellum Archidiaconale.*

*Pol. p. 46.* For though he was resolved, even in his first book, to run

his head against a wall, and very ingeniously professes there too, that if he had spoke reason he without any more ado carry'd the Cause, if he had not he was content to lose



lost his labour; he intended not it should go so easily. But in that very first Book, while he was in the sweetest temper, in his natural serenity, and most benign inclinations, not heated or provoked by any Adversary; and before he had expected one minute what so strong a Reason, what so perswasive eloquence might have effected with the Non-conformists, joyn'd with that interest which he had been so many years been creating amongst them, even then at the same time he sounds another *Trumpet* then that in *Sheere-lane*, to Horse, and hem in his Auditory. He proclaims them for meer dissenting upon tenderness of Conscience, *Villains,*

*Hypocrites, Rebels, Schismaticks,* p. 241.

*and the greatest and most notorious* p. 273.

*Hereticks.* He summons there- p. 319.

fore the Magistrate to do his Office, that is to impose Ceremonies, which he owns to be indifferent, upon those that hold the contrary, with the severest Penalties, and the strictest Execution. What is this but to put Governors upon the Tenters, to invent how possibly they may run their Subjects into Disobedience, and then to invent and apply the Tortures for their Disobeying?

As

As for the poor Subjects there is no help for them, but he gives them very excellent and Ghostly counsel to *abide their sad Fate* with Patience and Resignation; but instead of them he lays his Impolition now upon the Magistrate, and leaves him not so much as the Power to will nor chuse; but he must govern by the Laws of the

*Author of the Ecclesiastical Politie.* He must scourge them into order. He must Chastise them out of their peevishness, and

*Lash them into Obedience, There is no remedy, but the Rod and*

*Correction. He must restrain them with more rigour than unsanctified Villains.* He must expose

*them to the Correction of the publick Rods and Axes.* Is this at last all the

business why he hath been building up all this while that Necessary, Universal, Un-

controulable, Indispensible, Unlimited, Absolute Power of Governors; only to

gratifie the humour and arrogance of an Unnecessary, Universal, Uncontroulable,

Dispensable, Unlimited and Absolute, Arch-Deacon? Still *must, must, must*: But

what if the Supream Magistrace won't? Why, *must* again, eight times at least in

little

little more then one page, and throw his whole book proportionably. This is ( and let him make a quibble on't if he please ) like *Doctor Rabelais* his setting *Julius Caesar* to beat *Mustard*: and just as worshipful an imployment, as if he should prefer his Majesty from his Kingdom and *Whitehall* to the Government of his Ancient Palace of *Bridewell*. But Laws and Impositions he saith signifie nothing without Penalties, nor these without acting up roundly by rigorous Executions. Therefore that he might be true to his own principles, if the Supream Magistrate be disobedient, he hath provided against him too pretty severely. He hath denounced that in that case men deserve to *perish like Sardanapalus*. That such a Prince *deserves to be King of the Night*; and to conclude, he affirms that *Princes unless they will be resolute, that is to do what he would have them, p. 271. they must not Govern*. 'Tis come to *Noli igitur regnare*: They had need to take heed of him it seems, and how they behave themselves. But they may very well take all this kindly of him, and as an honour, for it is no less Authority than he exercises over God Almighty. For he will

Ec. Pol. will have it that God must  
 P. 40. of necessity have vested Princes  
 in at least as much Power as was absolutely  
 necessary to the Nature and Ends of Govern-  
 ment. And what the Authors ends are,  
 we have and shall take occasion more par-  
 ticularly to examine hereafter.

What needs there further for evidence  
 in this matter, or if men would out of  
 love to justice be more exactly inform'd,  
 let them but read, if their patience will  
 not last longer, the Contents at least of the  
 several Chapters of his *Ecclesiastical Polity*,  
 in this and the other matters. It is suffi-  
 cient punishment for some Offenders to be  
 placed in publick with their book, or its  
 Title affix'd before them. But because he  
 will not be satisfy'd with that, I shall pre-  
 sume so far on my Readers as to trace him  
 thorow the Maze of what in the *Reproof*  
 he would answer. He insults

*Resp. p. 3.* first because he saith I expose  
 an innocent and undeniable  
 Proposition of his, that the Magistrate  
 hath such a Power as is before described, to  
 govern and conduct the Consciences of his  
 Subjects in affairs of Religion; and yet I  
 say not a word in its confutation; but he  
 forgets that where I quote that, I in the  
 very

very next line subjoyn thus,  
*And pag. 22. he explains himself more fully: That unless Princes have Power to bind their Subjects to that Religion that they apprehend most advantagious to publick peace and tranquillity, and restrain those religious mistakes that tend to its Subversion, they are no better than Statues and Images of Authority.*  
 And this I several times inculcated into him; but of this he takes not the least notice I warrant you: 'tis all hush'd. Is not this now a candid Reprover? But because I know he will hereupon be wriggling, I will shew him that these words cannot be interpreted otherwise by him than according to their first appearance and full latitude. He cannot mean it in matters of Ceremony, which indeed he ought to have kept to, but that the subject it seems turn'd into an argument, and led him further to confess and speak out what was in the bottom. For concerning Ceremonies he saith indeed,  
*That 'tis absolutely necessary that Governors injoyn matters of no great moment and consequence in themselves, thereby to avoid the evil that would naturally attend upon their being not injoyn'd:*

Reb. Tr.

P. 97.

Ec. Pol.

P. 322.

injoyn'd: so that when they are determin'd, though perhaps they are of no great use to the Common wealth in themselves, yet they have at least this considerable usefulness as to prevent many great mischiefs that would probably follow if they were not determined: A most memorable passage, and that deserves to be recorded as the full sum and state of the controverſie. Yet he most

ingeniously professes that *All that concerns Religious Worship is no part of Religion it self, but only an Instrument, &c.* and

*Ec. Pol.*  
*P. 99.*

therefore though the Christian Laws command us by some exterior signs to express our interior Piety, yet they have nowhere set down any particular expressions of worship and adoration. So also *All Ri-*

*Ec. Pol.*  
*P. 206.* *tuals and Ceremonies and Postures and manners of performing the outward expressions of De-*

*votion are not in their own Nature capable of being Parts of Religion.* And thus in many other places: So that he hath gained nothing by the first objection which he hath raised but a Proposition not so undeniable, nor very innocent, that the Prince hath Power to bind his Subjects to that Religion which he apprehends most advantageous, &c.

His

His next exception against me is very material, that I have quoted so many passages out of his book. It has I believe indeed anger'd him as it has been no small trouble to me: but how can I help it? I wish he would be pleas'd to teach me an Art (for if any man in the World, he hath it) to answer a book without, *turning over the Leaves* (for that in a former Answer offended him) or without citing the passages: In the mean time if to transcribe so much out of him must render a man as he therefore stiles me a *Scandalous Plagiary* I must plead Guilty: but by the same Law whoever shall either be Witness or Prosecutor, in behalf of the King, for Treasonable words, may be *indited* for an High-way-man.

After this he asks me roundly whether I do seriously believe that his Majesty has no Power in matters of Religion. Let him first make good his own Assertion, which I have charged him with, and then I will tell him more of my mind; yet because he questions me of my Belief (which I believe he never yet did to any man in his own Parsonages, or either at *Iekham* or *Cbartham*) I do however count myself obliged to give him some answer, as much  
as

as he can challenge of me; that is, I do most certainly believe that the Supream Magistrate hath some Power, but not all Power in matters of Religion. And particularly to advance so much further to our *Author of the Ecclesiastical Politie*, I do not believe that Princes have Power to bind their Subjects to that Religion that they apprehend most advantagious. And I will give him a Reason too of this my

Belief. He himself saith (and

*Ec. Pol.*

*P. 179.*

it is worthy to be taken good notice of) *that the Fanaticks of late have so imbroiled Christen-*

*dom, that Christian Princes begin to be of a perswasion, that Christianity is an enemy to Government.* Now it is therefore to be presumed, that he is very conversant and intimate with all the Princes of Christendom. But I suppose that they reveal'd this secret of State to him only in confidence, for I never before heard of it in publick: and it is not so ingeniously or prudently done of him to proclaim in Print the subject of a familiar discourse, and private conference with them. This sure will make Princes more cautelous for the future, whom they chuse for their Ministers, and to believe that even he,

unless



unless he be better at keeping a secret, is not so fit to be of their Privy-Counsel: no not in Affairs Ecclesiastical. But if it be so (as who dare controvert it after so authentical authority as the Author's of the *Ecclesiastical Politie*) that Princes are indeed perswaded that Christianity is an Enemy to Government, it is not so safe to acknowledge that they have Power to bind to what Religion they apprehend most advantagious. Especially if it should chance that so pliable a Gentleman should be at their elbow, who, out of excess of Conformity indulges the greatest Non-conformity imaginable. *We*

condemn, saith he, neither Turks  
nor Papists for their Forms and  
Postures of Adoration (unless  
they fall under one or both of the obliquities  
aforesaid.) Let them but address the same  
worship to its proper object, and we will ne-  
ver stand stiffly with them about their out-  
ward Rites and Ceremonies of its expression,  
but will freely allow them to conform to the  
significant Customs of their Countrey, as we  
do to those of ours. 'Tis most graciously  
done that his *W<sup>e</sup>ship* will allow them it:  
Will he not sound a Trumpet too when  
he has done to give 'm leave to go to din-  
ner?

*Def. Ec.*

*Pol.*

p. 189.

ner? In due time sure there will be an Hat for him to make him in requital the Cardinal-Deacon. But why will he not carry the good humour thorow, and be as merciful to his Neighbours? All abroad and nothing at home? There have been and are several Rites and Customs too in the Countries of *England*, which do neither countenance Vice, nor disgrace the Deity, and these dissenting people do address the same Worship to its due and proper Object. But (not to prevent my self) should he now, that is so clear as to matter of Ceremonies, be back'd at the same time with another Fellow-Prebend of his no less Frank in Religion, who should tell the

Dr. Pierce  
against  
Baxter.  
p. 167.

Princes that he abhors being a Papist as much as being a Presbyterian, and will as soon be a Turk, as he will be either: what might become of us, if the Princes were satisfy'd of their own Power, and of these mens Discretion? It might breed no small alteration in the *affairs* of Christendom. For whatsoever the Papists be, there are many things to be said why the Turks is a very advantagious Religion.

Then

Then he quotes his Majesties *Repr. P. 3.*  
Declaration to make good his

—— making use of that Supream Power  
in Ecclesiastical matters, which is not only  
inherent in the Crown, but has been declared  
and recognized to be so by several Statutes  
and Acts of Parliament. I honour the  
Quotation, and am come not long since  
from swearing religiously to own that Su-  
premacie. And it is surely the more va-  
lid for having received from the *Author of*  
*the Ecclesiastical Politie* this Confirmation.  
Only it might have been wish'd that all  
his Books had not been writ directly  
counter to it, and under pretence of gra-  
tifying him with Titles he had not cut  
him out of the Exercise and Liberty of  
his Jurisdiction. But having in his *Ec-  
clesiastical Politie* created himself Perpetual  
Dictator, *Nequid Res-clerica detrimenti*  
*capiat*, and marching every where with  
four and twenty *Rods and Axes* before  
him, he deputes the *Consul* to be indeed  
both his *Magister Equitum*, and his *Pontifex*  
*Maximus*, but all along speaks in the *Us*  
and *We* of himself, and treats the good  
Civil Uncontroulable Magistrate with the  
*Must, Must*, to evidence his own rigorous  
Superiority. And in that only place where

he seems to give the Magistrate some little License, he doth it with so ill a grace, and stigmatizes both the Magistrate and the People with such a mark and Character, 'twould put a generous Prince upon some deliberation, whether he were best to make use of an authority so ignominiously granted. For all that is to be obtained is this and in these terms.

*Zc. Pol.* Should any Prince through unhappy miscarriages in the State  
*P. 63, 64.* be brought into such straits and exigencies of affairs as that he cannot restrain the headlong inclinations of his Subjects without the hazard of raising such commotions and disturbances as perhaps he can never be able to allay, and so should be forced in spite of himself to indulge them their liberty in their fancies and persuasions about Religion; yet, unless he will divest himself of a more material and more necessary part of his authority, than if he should grant away his power of the Militia, or his Prerogative of ratifying Civil Laws; unless I say, he will thus hazard his Crown and make himself too weak for Government by renouncing the best part of his Supremacy, he must lay an obligation upon all persons to whom he grants this religious freedom, to profess that

this matter of meer favour and indulgence,  
 and that he hath as much power to govern all  
 the publick affairs of Religion as any other  
 matters that are either conducive or prejudi-  
 cial to the publick peace and quiet of the  
 Common-wealth. And if they be brought  
 to this Declaration they will but confess them-  
 selves ( to say no worse ) turbulent and Se-  
 ditionous persons, by acknowledging that they  
 refuse their obedience to those Laws which the  
 Supream Authority has just Power to im-  
 pose. I know not whether all these So-  
 lemnities were duely observed in the late  
 Declaration; or whether the failing in  
 some of these Rituals may have render'd  
 it less sacred. But our Authors concession  
 here looks something like the Cardinal  
*Antonio's* suffrage, when he could not have  
 his man chosen; *Sia dunque Pamsilio Papa  
 al nome del Diavolo.* However this, such  
 as it is, joyn'd with the former quotati-  
 on does amount to some kind of Sanction,  
 and the Parties concern'd may do well to  
 consider of it.

He inquires next whether I *Ripr. p. 7.*  
 have never read or heard of any  
 publick disturbances, under pretence of Re-  
 ligion. Yes I have, and whosoever shall do  
 so deserves to be severely punished. *Whether*

Repr. p. 8. *ther* I have not heard of the merry pranks of John of Leyden and the Anabaptists of Germany. Yes, and they were handled as they deserved. Nay, moreover I have heard of the Anabaptists too of New-England, in a Book Printed in the year 1673. entituled *Mr. Baxter baptiz'd in Blood*, which came out under the License of *the Author of the Ecclesiastical Politie*; being therefore as it is to be supposed a Book of Theological nature. It was indeed a piece of Ecclesiastical History, which he thought it seems very fit to reconcile to the present Juncture of Affairs, and recommend to the Genius of the Age: faithfully relating the Cruel Barbarous and Bloody Murther of *Mr. Baxter an Orthodox Minister*, who was kill'd by the Anabaptists, and his Skin most cruelly flea'd off from his Body. And yet from beginning to end there never was a compleater falsehood invented. But after the *Author of the Ecclesiastical Politie* had in so many books of his own indeavour'd to harangue up the Nation into Fury against Tender Consciences, there could not have been contrived by the Wit of Man, any thing more hopeful to have blooded them upon the Non-conformists then such a Spectacle,

clé, and at the end of his Orations to flourish the Skin of an Orthodox Minister in this manner flea'd off by the Anabaptists. So that *Se non era vero sù ben trovato*. And in good earnest I dare not swear but it was the *Author of the Ecclesiastical Politics* own handy-work. Several words I observe that he frequently and peculiarly makes use of in his other books, *Concerns, Villains, Villanies, Booby, &c.* but as for his *brisk and labour'd periods*, they may be traced every where. What say you to this for Example? *As the Profession of the Gospel is a most sacred thing, the Doctrine of the Gospel a most holy rule, the Author of our Religion an exemplar and patern of meekness: So when Christians renounce this Sacred Profession, lay aside this Holy Gospel, and abrenunciare Christ the pattern of meekness, they soon become the most desperate Villains in the World.* (Ay: very truly said were it but rightly applied) Never in my life did I read any thing that more lively expresses and nicks the Energy of our Authors sense, or the rotundity and cadence of his Numbers: and so in many places more too long to be instanced. And indeed what reason could there be, what likelihood

that

E 3

that any other man should go so far out of the way with such a book to him who was the most improper Licenſer of things of that Nature ? Unleſs he may have therefore been the moſt proper Licenſer, becauſe he had given ſo many Teſtimonies as books of his good inclination to ſuch matters ; and that ( not only in Hiſtory, but even in Doctrin too ) he did not ſo nearly conſider the Truth as the Intereſt. And therefore if perhaps he were not the Author, yet I dare undertake that when he came to the Licenſing of that Pamphlet, he felt ſuch an expanſion of heart, ſuch an aduſcence of mind, and ſuch an exaltation of ſpirit, that betwixt Joy and Love he could ſcarce refrain from kiſſing it. And this no man living can deny, that either if he thought there were any fault in it, he took care to correct and fit it for the Preſs with that advantage that it came out, or elſe he found it ſo ſatisfactory that it paſt his approbation without any amendment, and ſo transporting that he forgot to keep a Copy for his own juſtification. And truly had it not chanced that there was preſent and immediate proof upon the place to convict the Forgery as ſoon as publiſhed, it might probably



bably have ~~have~~ had the effect for which it was designed. However no thanks to the Licenser, who either was also the Author, or the more criminal of the two; by how much the Licenser is always presumed to have the stricter inspection, the better judgment, and more honesty, and is therefore intrusted by my Lord Archbishop to give the stamp of publick authority. So that *Ecc. Pol.* whereas this Author saith that, p. 76.

*had we but an Act of Parliament to abridge Preachers the use of fulsom and luscious Metaphors, it might perhaps be an effectual Cure of all our Distempers, ( what of the dull and lazy one too? ) Let not the Reader smile at the oddness of the Proposal, ( Neither? Is not that lawful before it come to be enacted, as certainly it will upon his recommendation? ) I must rather say, that had we but an Act of Parliament to abridge Licensers from publishing falsehoods, how sweet soever and luscious, and to command and enable them to authorize truth, there would be a sensible amendment in our modern History, Polity, and Theology. I know he will take it unkindly that this should be revived after, he will say, he hath given so ample satis-*

faction since for it in his testimonial to the contrary. But he may please to consider that this was since the late Act of General Pardon; that it all happen'd since the writing of the Reproof; that he hath only given a Masterly Certificate as it were from a Justice of Peace, instead of making an humble Recantation as an Offender; that it is but the same Law which he every where would exact of the Non-conformists, and the same right which he does Mr. B. in the Preface to Bishop Bramhall. Had he but, as they say indeed, he complemented the Anabaptists on this occasion, so Printed it too, *That he esteem'd them to be the nearest to Truth of all the Dissenters from the Church of England*, it had been some sign of Penitence and Integrity, and amounted to some degree of Restitution.

From this of the Anabaptists, he falls as severely upon the word *Unhoopable*, which I it seems used in representing his *Unlimited*, &c. But whereas I only threw it out like empty Cask to amuze him, knowing that I had a *Whale* to deal with, and least he should overset me; he runs away with it as a very serious business, and so moyles himself with tumbling  
and

and tossing it, that he is in danger of melting his *Sperma Ceti*. A Cork I see will serve without an Hook, and in stead of an Harping Iron, this grave and ponderous Creature may like *Eeles* be taken and pull'd up only with bobbing. What adoe he makes with Tubs, Kinderkins, Hogsheds, and their demensions! that you might suspect him first to have served as Gager of the *Lambeth* brewing? I wonder that he should descend to so low imployment: but even that prudent Emperor *Claudius* publish'd an Edict *de bene Picandis Dolis*. And I perceive that a person of considerable Ecclesiastical Tunnage, did very lately resemble the Church of England with its Ceremonies to a Vessel which must of necessity be compos'd of Staves, Hoops, Withs and Pins: but if the Pins were pull'd out, then of consequence the Withs slacken, the Hoops ungird, and the Staves fall asunder into confusion, so that you see the Trope of an Hoop is not so Apocryphal. And I should have thought that, if not out of respect to the Church of England; yet had it been only out of reverence to *Cornelius* his Tub among the rest, it might have becom'd the Author of the Ecclesiastical Politie upon this occasion.

to have been something more serious.

And no less does he intangle himself in another line of mine, weak enough I confess, yet though of but a single hair strong enough to land him. 'Tis where I chanc'd to say, that *he hath given the Magistrate so infinite a power that it is extended to impotency as a straight Line continued grows a Circle.* Here indeed I am hard put to it, and I begin too late to be sensible of my rashness in provoking so terrible an Adversary. But in good earnest I thought it enough when I wrote it, that in any small Segment of a great Circle the curvature is not preceptible, but rectifies more by how much the Figure is extended. And at the same time I reflected, that if mine Author should carp at it (for I foresaw very well all the way where he would take hold, and where he would as soon eat his fingers) I would refer him as being an Ecclesiastical Mathematician to Cardinal *Gusman* his Treatise *de Doctrina Ignorantia*, p. 10. c. 14. where he might see in the Diagram: *Quod Infinita Linea sit Triangulus*, and p. 11. c. 15. *Quod ille Triangulus sit Circulus.* But if this will not satisfy him, let him try conclusions with his own Girdle, which circumscribes something that is infinite.

And

And no less considerable is that which he undertakes *to maintain that all Figures are Hoopable* : and I on the contrary will defend that if he can make that good, he hath found out the Circle of the Quadrature.

From hence he runs out into Plays, designing, as he told us his Friend did of the *Friendly Debate*, to set off his Reasonings with a Comical humour and pleasantness. I must here acknowledge the defect of my reading. For *Du Foy* I have not heard of, and it might better have become him to have quoted instead of the *Conquest*, the Arch-bishop of *Granada*. But for what he recites out of the *Rehearsal* and the *Kings of Bransford*, I understand it better, and seeing he is pleas'd to alter the Scene, I shall joyn with him, and try whether the humour of *Bayes* be so worn out that it may not give the Auditory a second dayes diversion. For indeed, 'tis too ceremonious and tiresome to repeat so often upon all occasions the *Author of the Ecclesiastical Politie*, and though I bear him great respect, yet I had rather of the two offend him than my Readers. He does indeed complain of it something patheti-

thetically that I should have fix'd that name upon him, and in good earnest could I have yet in all this while have invented any name more consonant and agreeable to his Character, I would have chang'd for it. Neither did I at first make use of the *Rehearsal* so much in order to make merry with him as for a more publick and serious advantage. For having observed that he and others of his Coat did, for want either of Reading, Wit, or Piety, as oft as they would be facetious, make bold with the Scripture; thinking too perhaps that being so long acquainted they might be more familiar with it; I had a mind to show them by this example, that there was not so much need of Prophaneness to be ridiculous, or to take the Sacred Writings in vain; but that if they did but take up at adventure any book that was commonly read, known or approved of, they had the same and better opportunity than out of the Bible, to gather thence variety, allusion, and matter sufficient to make the people merry: and I hope I have attain'd my end in some measure. But beside this, I have now one Reason more and his own Authority to treat him under this Title, he having been since so far.

far in love with the name, as even to send to *Colchester* to procure him as much *Bayes* as would serve for a Facing. One thing indeed he objects with some fading colour that there is an error in Chronology, the Play of the *Rehearsal*, not having been made publick till after his first Book came out which yet is something excusable, seeing it was publish'd before his second or third, and to be sure however before mine. But you know Mr. *Bayes*, that you wanted not the opportunity to see it long before it was Printed, and that Comedy, as all judicious and lasting things ought, was long consider'd of ere it was thought fit to come abroad. Had you follow'd the same example, and not divulg'd and promulgated your *Preface to Bishop Bramhall*, as you confess your thoughts were cool enough, or could possibly be so, to review or correct the indecencies either of its stile or contrivance, had you but had either leisure or patience to examine it, all this labour might have been spared betwixt you and me, and I for mine own part should never have tired either your self or the Reader. But that I may be quit

*Pref. B. B.*  
p. 2. and  
p. last.

quit with you for so weighty an *Emendatio temporum*; have you not observed that your *Hickringil* or *Gregory*, though not published till after your *Reproof* foretells of it nevertheless, threatening what a ven-

geance Book was impending over me? *That I must shortly be disciplin'd by another hand, advising me to say my Prayers, and*

*tremble at the Rod that was coming upon me, except I thought it the wisest way to save the Hang-man a labour.* It is a Title so honourable that I should scarce have adventur'd to give it him, but seeing he thinks fit to assume it, you may shift and divide it as you can betwixt you. This was I confess the most authentick way of Prophecy imaginable, it being fulfill'd before hand, but the worst piece of Chronology that ever I heard of. Indeed, Mr. *Bayer*, it appears to me very evident, that as I told you before this *Hickringil*, was your own book, and it was Licens'd too by your self, as certainly as *Baxter baptiz'd in blood*. The *Strains* and *Recherches* are all along exactly the same with those of the *Reproof*. Read but for example in the very same page in answer to what I say

Greg. p.  
196.

Greg. p.  
p. 196.



say of the King of Poland being obliged to wear that Countrey habit. For which unsufferable affront to His Majesties our Gracious Sovereign his Crown and Dignity Hereditary and not Elective, and at the good will either of People or Parliament, I leave him to be chastiz'd for this bold intrenchment and invasion of our Kings Prerogative and Title to his Crown.

Then read your Reproof. This is an impudent intrenchment upon his Majesties Crown and Prerogative, for the Polish Kingdom being Hereditary and not Elective, the Parliament deals with their Kings as, &c. Friend by your Politick Lectures you indanger your head, &c. Was there ever such a double Pick-lock of the Law, to find out such a dangerous innuendo? But thus those twin-books sympathize all thorow, although the Reproof was brought forth a considerable time before the other. Only, Mr. Bayes, as when in the Rehearsal you once resolv'd that for your first Prologue you would come out in a long black veil with an huge Hangman behind you with a furr'd cap, and his Sword drawn; you could not

Gregor.

p. 224.

Rep. p.

498.

Reb.Com

p. 7.

for

for a long time determine whether the *Reproof* or *Hicringill* should be the *Prologue* for the *Epilogue*, or the *Epilogue* for the *Prologue*; whether your first or your second self should come first. But having several things in your two books, some fit as you thought to be said in another's person, and others in your own, you stood a great while thumbing the Busk of your *Comfortable Importance*, whether, whether, to divine which of these two should first be hatched, and

*Reb. Com* which leg should go first. And  
p. 40. from this irresolution and con-

troversie arose this most gross and yet most subtle error in your *Chronology*, which would require another *Sealiger* to reform it. The Case is parallel, and you were even so puzzled betwixt those two books as you were at *Canterbury* betwixt your two Capacities, how you should take place not only of others, but even of your self; whether as you were Arch-deacon; or as you were youngest Prebend: and, though an alternative had been more advisable, you determined that in all Enterviews with your self (which are not so frequent except in your *Looking-glass*) and in all publick

So.

Solemnities among others, the Arch-deacon should both in Place and time have the Precedence.

Having I hope thus far done you right in matter of Chronology, I shall endeavour no less to satisfy you in point of Comedy, and your politick argument concerning the danger of a distinct jurisdiction in Civil affairs, and those of Conscience which you very weightily fetch from the two Kings of Bransford. And therefore be pleas'd to accept as serious a Reply from the same Author; to conclude Sir, the Place you fill has more then amply exalted the Talents of a wary Pilot, and all these threatening storms, which like impregnant clouds do hover o're our heads (when they once are grasp'd but by the eye of reason) melt into fruitful showers of blessings on the people. Or if you have something to object against this, take your Answer from the Kings themselves at their restauration, Now Mar-  
tals that bear how we tilt and  
career, With wonder will fear  
The event of such things as shall never ap-  
pear. For no less causeless are the apprehensions which you raise up, Mr. Bye

Reb.Com  
p. 12.

Reb.Com  
p. 41.

concerning Consciencious people under an equal Government.

I cannot now but take some notice of another argument, your threatning me here and in several other places with the loss of mine Ears, which how-  
*Repr. p. 25.* ever are yet in good plight, and  
*31. 76.* apprehend no other danger, Mr. Bayes but to be of your Auditory. But it is no less then you have projected against all the Non-conformists, to the great prejudice of the Nation, in wasting so unseasonably so much good Timber to make *Whipping-Posts* for them and *Pillories*. This hath been a considerable part indeed of the *Ecclesiastical Politie*, and doubtless a most effectual means of Conversion, and bringing men over to the Church of *England*. I cannot tell where you have learnt it, unless from the Wisdom and  
*Del Rio.* Piety of the *Tartars*, who in  
*p. 144.* the year 1240. though they left upon every mans head one ear standing, yet fill'd no less than nine huge Sacks with the ears that they cut off of the Christians. But there is no peril as far as I perceive to either of us; for my Ears Mr. Bayes do not so much as glow

glow for all your talking of them, and I will secure yours at least upon one account for you are so far from running away like *Evagrius* for fear of *Socr. l. 4.* a Bishoprick, that much less *c. 18.* will you like *Ammonius* cut off one of your own Ears to render your self incapable of that Office.

There follows one thing more which I know is personally intended to me, but you have couch'd it so darkly, that at first I could my self scarce understand it. You tell of an Antique Medal,

*On the Reverse whereof was Repr. p. 27.  
graved*

*The Alliance betwixt Christ and David.*

and desire me to tell you in what Emperors time it was coyned. Why, it was as I remember in the year 1650. and of the Government of the People of England precedent and present the same. But if you would hereby insinuate any thing either concerning my self or my Father, I shall once for all unriddle in two or three lines the mystery of this your quotation, because otherwise such nodding reflections impress the Reader more effectually then  
your

your more *brisk and laboured* Calumnies, which at other times you word more plainly, and vent more openly against us. This therefore is a greater error in Chronology than your former; for as to my self I never had any, not the remotest relation to publick matters, nor correspondence with the persons then predominant, until the year 1657. when indeed I enter'd into an imployment, for which I was not altogether improper, and which I consider'd to be the most innocent and inoffensive towards his Majesties affairs of any in that usurped and irregular Government, to which all men were then exposed. And this I accordingly discharg'd without disobliging any one person, there having been opportunity and indeavours since his Majesties happy return to have discover'd had it been otherwise. But as to my Father, he dyed before ever the War broke out, having liv'd with some measure of reputation, both for Piety and Learning: and he was moreover a Conformist to the established Rites of the Church of *England*, though I confess none of the most over-running or eager in them. I desire you, Mr. *Bayer*, to make my excuse to the Readers for having troubled

bled

bled them so far with my private affairs, by your occasion. But whether they will so easily admit my excuse, for you I know not, you having by the servility of your performances since manifested, that, had you then been of age sufficient, you would not have declined a more homely employment, which as you may read in *Philip de Comines*, another *Oliver*, a Barber discharged under *Lewis* the Eleventh. For the rest as to the Distich you have here quoted, whosoever was its Author, it might better have become your Divinity to have suppress'd so profane an Allusion; but that, as I have told you before, and shall often have occasion, you have a singular snickering after Scripture Drollery. It may seem to some by the manner of your expression as if you had a mind to subscribe it to me: but I resign all my interest in it to you and most men that are conversant about Town know very well who was the Author, who dyed some years since: and it may concern you, for some reasons not out of respect to be named, to take heed that you come not to resemble him in two of his Capacities:

There remain still behind some Figures of Brass which you bestow upon me, as  
Co-

*Colossus of Brass*, in requital to which I can only return you *Colossus*. *Brass upon Brass is false Heraldry*: but Salt upon Salt is not. *Brazen Brow. Out-bazen. Brass-copper*, and I know not how many more of the same Metal and Statuary. I cannot possibly learn or imagine where you have improved your talent to such proficiency, unless perhaps you have practised with a Modern Divine who is said to have appear'd not many years ago, and Preach'd in the Copper-Mines of *Sweden*. And indeed such is your performance here all along, and much more hereafter when you treat concerning the most sacred arguments that I suspect is not all your own; but (though I shall not call you a *Scandalous Plagiary*) that you have attracted by force of Phantasie some extraordinary Spirit to your Assistance. As *Cicero* said on another occasion,

——— *Multa quidem Ipse,  
Multa sed & Damon tibi suggerit.* ———

So that I hope the Readers will in so unequal a contest assist me also, at least with their good wishes, and should I be worsted in such discourse, or rather absolutely



lutely decline it, that yet they will not think the wor of me. Had he but wrote like a Man only, I might possibly have answer'd him: but where there appears something more then Humane in the business, I may well be excused.

But though in his Railing he is more than Man, he hath as moderate and reasonable a Reasoning as other Mortals: and that being therefore more proportionable to my weakness, I shall deal with as soon as I can find it; for it hath that advantage, that it is for the most part Invisible. But in the mean time I shall, to shew him how justly I might have declined all this trouble, quote him two Authors, the one Civil, other Ecclesiastical, so nearly related to himself, and this Controversie that till he has answer'd them, I account my self under no obligation. The first his fellow-Chaplain Doctor *Tomkins*, who in the last Act at *Oxford*, the Question being, *An summa Potestates Civiles gaudent Potestate Clavium*: held it in the Negative, and being urged with all the testimonies and arguments to the contrary out of the *Ecclesiastical Politie*, the Professor was fain to help him out at a dead lile, disavowing his authority in the face  
of

of the whole Country and University in plain terms: *Non stamus huius Authoritati.* Now where two persons so eminent and equal in Learning, the two Say-masters of Orthodoxy, and of whom all Theology must ask License, are of so contrary opinion in the very Fundamentals of Ecclesiastical Government, is it not time to have a general Vacation, and that all private Process should be respited till so dangerous a division betwixt the two *Pins of the Church of England*, be again cimented? The other is the supposed Father of the *Author of the Ecclesiastical Politie* ( for as long as his Book is nameless, I can alwayes speak of him only at random ) in that Tract beforementioned, *the Government of the People of England precedent and present the same.* It was writ to spirit men to subscribe to the Ingagement *to be true and faithfull to the Common-wealth as then established without a King or the House of Lords:* and there he asserts that, *Populus suo Magistratu prior est tempore, natura & dignitate: quia Populus Magistratum constituit & quia Populus sine Magistratu esse potest sed Magistratus sine Populo non potest esse.* Also out of another classical Author, *Vindicia contra Tyrannos*, he affirms: *Reges sunt*

*sunt a Populo & sunt constituti causa Populi.*  
 More he undertakes to prove that the Kings of England had no Negative voice rightfully and by Law, but that it was contrary to the Law and their Oath at Coronation. And then *a fortiori*, that the Lords neither can have any Negative upon the People. That Acts of Parliament may pass and be valid without consent of the Lords Spiritual: and many other passages of an higher nature, if higher could be, which I cite not, least the very reading of them should prejudice the publick, that Book being the very Quintessence of a Sub-Committee-man turn'd Serjeant at Law, and of the High-Court of Justice. It befitted our Author to have wash'd off the Blood from his own Threshold before he had accused others: and no man is ingaged to answer his Necessary, Universal, Uncontroulable, Unappearable, Indispensible, Unlimited, Absolute Magistrate, as long as his own Father stands upon Record against him, and he spends not so much as one Quibble in his confutation. Nevertheless I will supererrogate and use all the means possible to find some more cleanly spot in him: though indeed he does all

over so wallow and coat himself in dirt, that he is almost impenetrable, and, unless his Skin were flea'd off like *Baxters*, there is no touching him without pollution.

He expostulates with me  
*Supr. p. 17.* for perverting the whole design  
*and p. 30.* of his Book. What do I know  
 the Designs that are managed  
 betwixt him and his Book when they are  
 together in Private? But when any dis-  
 course is made publick, it must abide  
 the common interpretation, and *Sis Li-*  
*ber Reus Testis & Judex.* You know ve-  
 ry well that, though no man ever spoke  
 more perspicuously and fully then *Calvin*  
 concerning the Obedience due to Magi-  
 strates, yet for one particular passage, *De*  
*Privatis hominibus semper loquor Nam si qui*  
*nunc sint populares Magistratus,* he is upon  
 all occasions dress'd up by your  
*Rep. 381* self and others of your make  
 as the bug-bear of Princes.  
 Therefore, Mr. Bayes, you should have  
 done well to admonish your book, if it  
 would needs be treating of Government,  
 yet by his example to have learn't discre-  
 tion and to weigh every word: for you  
 cannot imagine what hurt a silly well-  
 meaning

meaning book may do in the world far from its intention: but if it have on the contrary a felonious intention, and not having the fear of God before its Eyes, as I doubt yours has not, you know then that it may do more mischief than you can ever make amends for. And this is all the matter depending betwixt your Book and me, for ought I can perceive by you. The contest is rather of the Truth of Fact than the Truth of Opinion; and a dispute rather of the Eye than the Understanding. Your Book hath said so and so concerning the Magistrate as you have seen in my former quotations. And now you come and would bear me down with more then ordinary confidence that your Book said no such thing, or else you understand its sense better then it self. Therefore pray let us see, Mr. Bayes, what you have to alledge: but in the mean time what have my Readers and I to do but to pity one another? I must quote all over again, and they read it all and you will affirm and deny; deny and affirm, without any regard to Truth or Honesty; and yet all this and more we must indure out of Love to Justice. But I hope at least, Mr. Bayes, that if I do convince that the

quotations are right on my part, you will be so ingenuous as to put me upon no further trouble, but confess your Book misunderstood you and was in an error. For if there be no fault in the Matter, why should you deny it?

You say that what you affirm'd of the Magistrates Authority to take upon him the exercise of the Priesthood, was only as things stood in the bare state of Nature: and, though you said the Magistrates Power was antecedent to Christ, yet its continuance depends meerly upon his Confirmation, in that (very politically said) whatever Prince does not reverse a former grant confirms it. Let us see how it is possible that these should either be your words or meaning. The Priestly and the Royal Office in the first ages of the World, and for well nigh 2500. years descended together and upon the same person. Then this same Power, because it must be seated somewhere, can only properly belong to him in whom the Supream Power resides. Then: For be alone having authority to assign to every Subject his proper function, and among others this

Repr. p. 23.

Repr. p. 27.

Ecc. Pol.

p. 32.

& 31.

this of the Priesthood, as he may transfer the exercise thereof to another, so may he if he please reserve it to himself. And therefore this the Wisdom of the elder ages always practised. Can there be any thing more plain under Heaven, then that you distinguish the elder times against these, and having done so, then assert that what was constant in those former times remains still the same, and that of necessity? But go on: *this same Power was firmly establish'd in the World by the unalterable dictates of Natural Reason and Universal Practice and Consent of Nations.* And then: *though in the Jewish Commonwealth for peculiar reasons of State, the two Offices of King and Priest were separated, yet the Power of the Priest remain'd subject to the other.* But this was only a present interruption: For then: *our Saviour at his birth came not to diminish the Natural rights of Princes, so that all of them (for the Jewish Commonwealth was already dissolved by the Roman power, and by his coming) were reinstated certainly in the Royal and Priestly Office as before, for he came not to set up any*

Ec. Pol.

p. 35.

Ec. Pol.

p. 38.

Ec. Pol.

p. 33.

*new Models of Polity! But however, when Christianity had prevail'd long after to be the Imperial Religion, then*

*Ec. Pol. its Government began to resemble where Nature had placed it, nay*  
*p. 48. so far it went, that therefore*

*Ec. Pol. the Divine Providence did begin*  
*p. 49. to withdraw, the miraculous*

*power of the Church ( and you can tell us why too here, though the Jewish reasons of State for some peculiar reason you thought fit should be private; )*

*Ec. Pol. For the necessity ceased, the Power*  
*p. 54. of Miracles being now as well supplied by the Natural and ordinary power of the Prince.*

*And then came the Pope as you told us before, and then came the Reformation which*

*Ec. Pol. was almost as bad it seems, for*  
*p. 56. though it wrought wonderful alterations in the Christian world, yet it has not been able ( but*

*you it seems have been able ) to resist Princes in their full and Natural rights in reference to the Concerns of Religion. Now,*

*Mr. Bayle, what is become of your Excuse, that you affirm'd this*

*Aspr. p. 33. Power in the bare state of Nature, but not under the guidance*

*of*



of Revelation, nor indifferently to all ages and periods of the Church under whatsoever positive Laws and different Institutions? whereas your whole business has been to prove that Princes and mankind are herein still under the base state of Nature, though your Book perhaps did not intend it. But pray therefore Reprove your Book, Reprove even your *Reproof*, and if that will not serve, take it under *Correction*; but if it prove incorrigible, I know not what course I should advise you to take with such a Rascal. For it hath said beside, *To what purpose should Christ grant Princes a new Commission, when this Power was already so firmly establish'd in the World by the unalterable dictate of Natural reason, &c.* And this perhaps out of your Natural indulgence to your own book, you took no notice of. But by this means what becomes of that Confirmation of *Christ* which you *Rev. p. 24.* speak of? For, as your book argues very strongly, it must have been either an Usurpation or impertinent. And whereas you say, *That though the Magistrates were vested with an Ancient and Antecedent Right, yet its continuance ever since our Saviour commenced this Empire,*

depends meerly upon his Confirmation: in  
 that whatsoever Prince does not Reverse a  
 former Grant confirms it; howsoever the  
 Truth prove to be in Fact, yet it is not  
 much obliged to your Argument. For  
 that who does not reverse a former Grant  
 confirms it, Supposes that the Power of  
 Nature was equal, if not Superior to that  
 of our Saviour. For where a New and  
 Superior Power is introduced all former  
 Grants are null, unless they be expressly  
 Confirmed, And so, if the Power of  
 Christ were Superior to that of Nature, and  
 he hath not positively Confirmed that  
 Authority of the Civil Magistrate, it is  
 absolutely extinguished, and the Magi-  
 strate hath no Power at all left him, but  
 runs into a *Premunire* by exercising it.  
 Beside you call the Original of the Magi-  
 strates Authority, the *Unalterable dictate*  
*of Natural Reason*: so Christ's Confirma-  
 tion could have signified nothing. For  
 what is unalterable is unconfirmable  
 and yet this too was in the state of depra-  
 ved Nature. Nevertheless such is your in-  
 consistence, that you own our  
 Saviours Authority to be Su-  
 perior. And it befitted you  
 so to do, for, if you will be-  
 lieve

*Ec. Pol.*  
*P. 34.*

lieve him, *All Power was given him in Heaven and Earth.* For the Scripture, you say, rather supposes then asserts it, and Every Prince not reversing a former Grant confirms it. Nay, but further if you read p. 40. There is a solemn Renunciation, as full as could be drawn up by Counsel, of any Power of Christ in the whole matter, *We derive not therefore* Ec. Pol. the Magistrates Ecclesiastical p. 40. Jurisdiction from any grant of our Saviours; but from an antecedent right wherewith all Sovereign Power was indued before ever he was born into the World. Here is an Ingagement with a witness, beyond that of 1650. Fathers nown Son. And will you be true and faithful to the Government establish'd, without Christ, &c? And is this the Reproof then writ to prove that the Government of England precedent to Christ and present is the same? and *Ad subscribentes Confirmandum, Dubitantes Infirmandum, Opponentes convincendum?* For in this I suppose 'twas not your Books fault only, but you and it were both of the same opinion; which is the reason that you say, *We derive it not*: that is, sure you and your Book. For if you meant it otherwise, you should have done

well to shew your Plenipotence from all those that authorized you. However methinks betwixt You and your Book, you might have had more wit then to have excluded any Grant of our Saviours, whatsoever, unless ( as indeed you treat him like other Princes and *Crown'd heads*, only allowing him a Power something less than to others, and more moderate ) you confine his everlasting Kingdom to the day of his Birth, and date his Dominion that is infinite from *Anno Domini & Anno regni nostri primo*. And now after all this, I leave it to the most candid or severest Reader to judge, whether for one in your case to affirm, that you spoke of the Magistrate exercising the Priesthood in his own person, only in the bare state of nature; and that you did not make the Magistrate Power independent herein from Christ; be not a flat contradiction to your self, and so out-facing to all ingenuity, that had you not first wash'd your face in Stygian water, it were impossible for you to persist without blushing. And what detriment the Church of England might suffer upon this occasion, I leave it to themselves to consider. But I perceive some are wiser then some, and, though you were so forward

as to undertake this side of the Argument, yet it was so order'd betwixt you or some-where else, that Doctor *Tomkins* should defend the contrary. For the Church of *England* is so intelligent, as not to trust all in one Doctors bottom: but knows that it is good having two Strings to the Ecclesiastical-Bow, that if one break the other may hold.

Neither, considering what you have thrown out upon this occasion, was it at all improperly said by me, That if the King might exercise the Priest-hood in his own person, it was *Repr. p. 22.* all the Reason of the world that he should too assume the Revenue. This, though it were the only passage in my whole book that could possibly be perverted to an ill sense in this matter, is by you and the rest of your *Scaramuccios* invidiously applyed and aggravated both here and in many other places at large, as if it had been seriously intended by me for his Majesties assuming the Church Revenue. Whereas it appears to have been meant quite contrary, and only to represent your Malice in defaming the Government, or those persons eminently instrumental under his Majesty both in Church and

and State, as if there were some such counsel or design on foot; and to show you how ridiculous your fear was (if it were not counterfeit) of any such matter, and to fright you something the more with your own argument. For indeed

though you accuse me as if I  
*Repr. p. 24.* put his Majesty in mind to violate his Coronation Oath for

preserving the Rights of the Church, it was all that I said only to put you in mind, that, if the Magistrate may exercise the Priesthood in his own person, any such Coronation Oath was in it self invalid; as being contrary to the *unalterable dictates of Natural Reason*: and that, if he did exercise the Priesthood himself, he was by that Oath perjured, unless he himself also assumed the Revenue. For though you are pleasant, and say that by the same reason he may as well, because he is the Supream Civil Magistrate, assume the Revenues of the Laity; the argument holds not: forasmuch as the Ecclesiastical Maintenance is annex'd to the Function, and, this being extinguished, that devolves naturally upon the King; or, the King exercising the Function himself, the Revenue is so much the more due to him  
 and.

and such other Lay persons as he shall de-  
pute under him in stead of the Clergy. But  
this being a thing so dissonant to mine  
own and other mens ordinary conceptions  
(though I shall shew you in a fitter place  
hereafter why you ought still to continue  
in the same opinion) I left you to be re-  
sponsible for your own consequences. For  
that you may understand, Mr. *Bayer*, that  
I am none of those, that were I in capa-  
city, could give any so pernicious advice,  
I tell you, and desire you hence forward to  
take notice of it, that I am so far from  
thinking enviously of the Revenue of the  
Church of *England*, that (though I will  
not as you do call that *Sacriledge* which  
makes up the estates of so many of the  
Nobility and Gentry of *England*, and of  
which the Church too hath its part, if it  
be *Sacriledge*,) that I think in my Consci-  
ence it is all but too little, and wish with  
all my heart that there could be some way  
found out to augment it. But in the mean  
time, (to tell you my heart, for what  
needs dissembling among friends?) I am  
inclinable to think, as the Revenue now  
stands, there is sometimes an error in  
the Distribution. And for example, I  
think it is a shame that such a one as you  
but should

should for writing of Political, flattering,  
 persecuting, scandalous Books, be recom-  
 pens'd with more preferment, then would  
 comfortably maintain ten Godly Ortho-  
 dox and Conformable Ministers, who  
 take care of the Peoples Souls committed  
 to their charge, and reside among them.  
 Whereas you, as being too great for your  
 Sacred imployment, must be exercising it  
 by your Spiritual Deputy or Deputies,  
 and one of them so notorious, that,  
 though married, it was his usual practice,  
 under pretence of studying late at night  
 for his Sermons, to lye with his Maid  
*Mary Parker* before-mentioned, and in-  
 stead of instructing your Parish in the  
*Fruits of the Spirit*, he gave them an ex-  
 ample of the *Works of the Flesh*, which  
 are these, *Adultery, Fornica-*  
*Gal. 5. 19. tion, Uncleanness, Lascivious-*  
*ness, &c.* so far indeed excu-  
 sable, if, as 'tis said, after he had finish-  
 ed the work, he attempted to administer  
 something to undo it again, and make  
 the fruit abortive. You in the mean time,  
 as if you were an Exempt of the Clergy,  
 and as Parson can transmit over the Cure  
 of Souls to your Curate, saunter about  
 City and Countrey whither your gilt  
 Coach



Covetous and extravagance will carry you,  
 starving your People, and pampering your  
 Horses, so that a poor man cannot ap-  
 proach their Heels without dying for it.  
 I speak not of stale Achromismes, but of  
 things that really happen'd all since the  
 writing of your *Reproof*, and which de-  
 serve one better. For what reason can  
 you alledge why you should gluttonize  
 and devour as much as would honestly  
 suffice so many of your Brethren that take  
 pains in the word; like the the great  
 Eater of *Kent*, when you are either so un-  
 able or so *dull and lazy* that you do not  
 one mans labour? This is the great bane  
 and scandal of the Church, that such Li-  
 vings as more immediately belong to it  
 should be the worst supplyed, and that  
 you and some few Ingrassers like you,  
 should represent your selves by so ignorant  
 and vicious Curates, men not fit to be  
 mention'd in the same Collect; and upon  
 whom indeed the *Spirit of Grace* cannot  
 descend but by *Miracle*: and while things  
 are no better order'd, it is not strange  
 at all if Non-conformity take root and  
 spread further among Consciencious per-  
 sons, nor that the Revenue of the Church,  
 though in it self too slender, should ne-  
 vertheless

vertheless appear too great and envious by the manner of Distribution. This is more then I should have said, had not you by your unseasonable discourses drawn it out of me, but however is intended principally to your self: though as long as the Church shall not think fit to repress such Writers it is unavoidable; but that some faults already too visible should be mention'd.

But to proceed: You say, that I have upbraided you with ascribing an infinite jurisdiction to Princes without any  
 Repr. p. 20. regard to the Divine Laws, and  
 that you give an Ecclesiastical  
 Repr. p. 13. authority to the Civil Magistrate  
 & 16. absolutely Paramount to any other

Jurisdiction whereas you meant it, you say, only in defiance to the claim of any other Humane Power. What shall I answer in this case? Will you not remember that you say your Power of the Prince is antecedent to Christ's that it was established such by the unalterable dictates of Natural reason? That God of Necessity must have given them such power? If it be antecedent to Christ, how is it accountable to him? If established by natural reason, does it not result only from man as a loose and free agent  
 how

however produced, and though from the *Vessels of the Earth*, yet acting by Nature? and if God of necessity must give the Magistrate this Power, do you not make God accountable rather to him; and may the Magistrate bring his action against the Deity *de Potestate imminuta*, or accuse him *Lesæ Majestatis*? So that hereby the sum of your Doctrine appears to be (if without offence I may name it) that your Priestly and Uncontroulable Power of the Civil Magistrate is Antecedent to *Christ*, Contemperry to the World, nay at least Co-eternal, if not Pre-eternal, to God himself. And this is the more strongly confirm'd by your asserting, which I told you of, that the Magistrate hath Power to bind his Subjects to that Religion that he apprehends most advantageous to publick Peace and Tranquillity: So that he may if he chuse his Religion; chuse his God too, unto whose Jurisdiction he will be accountable; and if he begin to think as you say he does, That Christianity is an Enemy to Government, he may make use of *Rogation*. But still you clamour that you have transferred the Sovereign Power to be Absolute, Uncontroulable, 'tis not to be understood so in regard to God. (Why then

then do not brave it and justify your self at this rate, but make your submission humbly, and acknowledge your offence as an honest man should do.) And that, when you said *'twas Absolute and Unlimited, no man, unless he would give his mind to misunderstanding, could understand it in any other sense, then that it was not confined to matters purely Civil, but extended its jurisdiction to matters of Ecclesiastical Importance, (that is the word it seems in all senses, Comfortable, Close, Ecclesiastical)* upon which account alone you determin'd it to be *Absolute, Universal and Uncontroulable.* Why I perceive you did not, or would not observe what I had all the while been driving at, and of what I was all along jealous; that the thing would not end there, but that, as you had given to certain Uses, and for certain Valuable Considerations an Universal and Absolute Power to the Prince in Ecclesiasticals, so you would, if it were but out of Revenge, bestow the same upon him in Civils.

But you say: *there was never a man of such immodesty in the world to charge you with these things, whereas you know no Writer ancient*

or Modern that hath so vehemently and industriously asserted the contrary, spending two whole Chapters in your first Book, to prove, that the Opinion of the Unlimited humane Authority was no less than rank Atheism and Blasphemy, and subverts the Power of all Government, and safety of all Societies. Ay a very good man are you: hold you there. But I hinted to you once before, Mr. Bayes, that this writing forsooth against Atheism from the first hath stood you in very good stead, and under pretence of confuting Mr. Hobbs ( who I believe could explain himself as innocently as you have done ) you should have usher'd in whatsoever Principles men lay to his charge, only disguised under another Notion to make them more venerable. Nay, in good earnest, I do not see but your *Be-benath* exceeds his *Leviathan* some foot long, in whatsoever he saith of the Power of the Magistrate in matters of Religion and Civils; save that you have levyed the *Invisible Powers* to your assistance, the better to fright men out of their Wits, their Consciences and their Properties. I have told you in my former Book that I do really believe you are no Atheist, and however I know you have so much wit as to

keep

keep it to your self, though not perhaps to avoid some opinions, which if followed home, might in due time lead to it. But to what purpose is it, Atheism, or not Atheism, and what difference in the matter, if under pretext of Divinity an Uncontroulable Principle be insinuated and obtruded to the invasion of all the Rights of Mankind, and Priviledges of Reason: if an Unlimited and Absolute Power be challenged in things of Ecclesiastical as well as Civil, and of Civil as well as those of Ecclesiastical Consideration? and I think under one or other of these all are comprehended.

I have something a troublesome and unnecessary task herein if I were to deal with a person of ordinary ingenuity; for his Book is in Print, and I have also in Print charged this upon him, and nevertheless by this last Book, he puts me again upon this double drudgery, to prove first that he said it, and afterwards to prove that he meant what he said. But, though I know this is only a piece of his Art, hoping to tire out the Auditory, not out of any belief of his own Innocence, yet a Guilty person ought not to be debar'd from making the best of his own Case, and

and I hope the Readers will, by his tedious evasions and tergiversations in a thing so evident, be the rather provoked to do him Justice. Having therefore sufficiently witness'd his words, I shall now proceed to manifest his Intention. And to that purpose I shall alledge one or two material passages; the first in his first Book, the *Ecclesiastical Politic*.

He saith, 'Tis better to submit to the unreasonable Impositions of Nero and Caligula, then to hazard the Dissolution of the State. What he means here by Dissolution of the State, he might have done well to have expressed: but what the unreasonable Impositions are, cannot be understood otherwise then either in matters of Religion or of Propriety, and how both these Emperors acquitted themselves on those two accounts, appears in their History. For as to Nero, beside his personal vices, which can scarce be imitated or parallel'd out by Caligula, I will but succinctly mention how he behav'd himself to the Publick in the course of his Government. If men bequeath'd nothing to him by their last Wills and Testaments in token of gra-

Ec. Pol.

p. 215.

gratitude to the Prince, he confiscated the whole estate, and fined all Lawyers whatsoever by whose advice such Wills had been drawn. He decreed, that, though there were but one Informer, it should suffice to convict men of Treason, either for Words or Actions. Whensoever he bestow'd an Office, he did it with these Instructions : *You understand what I have need of, and therefore let us make it our business, that no man may have any thing which he can call his own.* Beside so many particular instances of Savage cruelty, he design'd to cut off the heads of all the Governors of Provinces. To poyson the whole Senate at a Dinner. To burn the City, and at the same time to turn out Wild beasts among the People to terrifie them from quenching the Fire. A blazing Star appearing, he resolv'd to divert the *Omen* from his own head, by the Massacre of all the Nobility, and the most considerable persons in *Rome*. He did cause the City of *Rome* to be set on fire, and so carelessly that divers of his Officers, being taken with fire and flax in their hands, and in the very act, yet were let go for fear of offending him; and some houses not being so easily burnt, he took care to have



have them beaten down with Engines. And, though it was manifest how it was designed and and acted, he derived the crime of all this upon the innocent Christian. He Sacrilegiously took the Donatives from the Temples and melted down the Images of the very Tutelar Gods of Rome to make money. He contemned all Religions, and particularly is reckon'd to have been the first Persecutor of Christianity. He affirmed publickly, that *none of his Perdecessors had known their own Power*: the very same words in a manner, and spoke in the same sense as those of our Author, that *Governors have not been thoroughly instructed in the Nature and Extent of their Power*: and the other; that *no Nation hath* Ec. Pol.  
*rightly understood and duely* p. 58.  
*managed Government, because* Ec. Pol.  
*they have not chain'd their Non-* p. 223.  
*conformists to the Oare, and condemn'd them to the Gallies.* The Conclusion of this Tragedy is common; how Nero was by the Senate proclaim'd an Enemy to the State, and Sentenced to be punish'd after the Ancient manner; that is to be stripp'd naked, and his head held up with a Fork, till he were whipp'd unto Death;

Death; but this by another death he prevented. This is I suppose one, Mr. Bayes, of your *Uncontroulable Magistrates*, these his *Unreasonable Impositions*, and this your *Dissolution of the Government*; and you think 'twas better that this Nero had still reign'd then that Galba should have succeeded. I would all of you that are of that mind had such Governors. And thus much concerning Nero.

But now as to Caligula and his *Impositions*, What disposition he was of he manifested by his *wishing that all the People of Rome had but one Neck*: beside that, he was used to lament the unhappiness of his time, because it was not signaliz'd by any publick Calamity; (as if there needed any other Calamity but his Government, and he himself had not abundantly supply'd the defect of any other misfortune) whereas said he, the Reign of Augustus was felicitated by the defeat of Varus and his Legions, as Tiberius his was memorable for the fall of the Amphitheatre at Fidence, (in the ruins of which Twenty thousand men perish'd) but my unfortunate prosperity will leave me in danger of being inglorious after death and forgotten. But he took good and effectual care to the contrary. He was  
often

often heard to say, that he ~~would~~ certainly reduce things into such a condition, that the Lawyers should not have any thing to say or do, but what he thought just and equitable: and he was as good as his word. The things may be seen in particular in his History: his whole Reign having been a Pandect of Rapine and Tyranny, and his rule by which he proceeded, that he might do what he pleas'd with whom he pleas'd: As to the Sacred Rites and their Presidents, take one instance. The Priest being ready to offer a Sacrifice at the Altar, he took upon himself, according to the unalterable dictates of Natural Reason, to exercise the Priesthood in person, and having vested himself as in the Power, so too in the Sacerdotal habit, he took up the Mallet, and feigning to knock the Beast down, instead thereof struck down the Officer who stood by with the Knife. Which should methinks be a sufficient caution unto Church-men hereafter how they trust the Civil Magistrate with exercising the tools of the Priesthood. But this is nothing in respect of what follows. He commanded that the Statue of *Jupiter Olympius* among many others should be brought over from Greece, and their

G

heads

heads taken off to his place in the room of  
 'm. He seated himself often in the mid-  
 dle betwixt *Castor* and *Pollux* to be adored  
 by the People. He built a temple to him-  
 self, and appointed Priests to his own Di-  
 vinity: and even then there wanted not  
 ambitious men, who by favour aspired  
 to that Office, or purchased it by Simo-  
 ny; upon any Ecclesiastical vacancy. The  
 Sacrifices appointed for his own Worship,  
 were Peacocks, Pheasants, and all other  
 the delicatest Fowl, and of greatest rarity.  
 He took upon him the Ensigns of all the  
 Gods, the Lion from *Hercules*, the Caps from  
 the *Castors*, the Ivy and Thyrsis from *Liber*,  
 the Caduceus from *Mercury*, the Sword Hel-  
 met & Buckler from *Mars*, the Crown, Bow,  
 Arrows and Graces from *Apollo*. He made  
 love to the *Moon*, and pretended to her  
 embraces. But more then this he com-  
 manded that his Image should be set up in  
 the Temple at *Jerusalem*, and that the  
 Temple should be dedicated only to him,  
 and he there to be worship'd under the  
 name of the *New Jupiter*. He caused his  
 Statues moreover to be placed in the  
 Jews Synagogues to be there adored. In-  
 somuch that the great *Grotius* does most  
 accurately deduce and expound the 2 *Thes-*  
*salonians*, 2 c. 3 and 4 verses concerning  
 him

him ( though differing therein from other Interpreters ), and that St. Paul adventur'd to call him the *Son of Perdition*, that is worthy to dye in the most miserable manner, as he did afterwards, and the Adversary, that is, the Enemy of God : and that his sitting as God in the Temple of God was to be meant of his command to erect his Image there, though it were not effected, yet however seeing he did his best to have it done. And this, Mr. Bayes, is your other Magistrate, who understood it seems

the Nature and Extent of his *Ec. Pol.*  
Power; and, as you would p. 21.  
have Princes do, made inflexi- *Ec. Pol.*  
ble Laws under the severest Pe- p. 271.  
nalties, and acted up roundly to

them. But when all people were weary of him, one *Cassius Charea*, a Tribune of one of the *Prætorian Cohorts*, for many affronts receiv'd from him, and among others that of giving *Prisap* and *Venus* for the Word, undertook his death, and so happen'd the Dissolution of his Government. Nevertheless I shall not decide here what submission was to be made either to *Nero's* or his Impositions; but only remember what your Doctor *Heylin* said concerning King *Edward the sixth*.

Heylin  
Ref. p.  
132.

Heylin  
Pref. Ref.  
P. 4.

It shall be left to the Readers Judgment, whether the King was either better studied in his own Concernments, or seem'd to be worse principled in matters which concern'd the Church. And in another place, King Edwards death I cannot reckon for an infelicity to the Church of England, he being ill principled in himself, and easily inclined to embrace such Counsellors. Neither will you I hope affirm that the loss of these two Emperors was any grievous Judgment upon the Roman Common-wealth, or a very sad affliction to the State of Christianity. This same Caligula was he that took so great affection to *Incitatus*, a fleet and metall'd Courser, that beside a Stable of Marble, a Manger of Ivory, Housing-cloaths of Purple, and a Poiectrell of precious stones, he furnish'd him an house very nobly, and appointed him a family to entertain those who render'd visits to his *Equinity* and his *Hinnibility* (words of yours on another occasion) and to treat such Guests as were invited, with the more magnificence. Nay, so far did he carry on this humour, that 'tis said, had he not been prevented, he de-

design'd to have made this race-horse Consul; as fit however for that Office, as his Master to be Emperor. What pity 'tis Mr. Bayes, that you did not live in that fortunate age, when desert was so well rewarded and understood, when preferments were so current! Certainly one of your Heels and Mettle would quickly have arrived to be something more than an Arch-Deacon. If an Horse had so great a Court, and so rich Furniture, and stood so fair for Election, what might not such an one as you have expected! Give me leave, Mr. Bayes, having been so long in your debt to requite and cap you with an *Ancient Distich*: but if I Thow you this once, it is not out of disrespect but only to repeat it the more faithfully. Had you then lived,

*Then should'st have had a Silver Snye,  
And she her self have pigg'd thee by.*

So that there would have been no occasion for you to have coveted, as you do, your Neighbour Prebends House, but you should have began at last, as Nero said, to dwell like your self, and have been installed in a Palace suitable to your Dignity. But though those happy dayes are past and gone, you need not grumble; unless no-  
G 5
thing

thing will suffice you, and you are so ambitious of a fortune, that you cannot be content with the Spirituals of *Simon Magnus* and the Temporals of *Caligula*.

*Hactenus*, saith *Grotius* upon the same place; *Impium Principem descripsit, nunc venit ad Impium Diderum*; So that the field lies open (were it not against good Huntsmanship to course two Hares at once) to run your Doctoral similitude here through your *Prote Ennoia*, showing her self at so many windows; your Doctrines and deceits, tending *ut homines ad flagitia impelleres aut in flagitiis detineres*; your attempting to fly with the assistance of two other Spirits. But I will let all these things rest till another occasion shall offer, nor am I at present in humour to be too severe upon you. Only pray let me show you, *Mr. Bayes*, with how much reason you have recommended to the publick the Civil Magistrate *Caligula*, seeing you do so particularly resemble him. Who that shall but cast his eye upon you in your writings, can take any other representation of you, then that you have not only usurped the winged Bonnet from *Mercury*, the Thyrses and Ivy from *Bacchus*, the Bows and Arrows and the Graces from *Apollo*,



*Apollo*, the Lion from *Hercules*, the Sword, Buckler, and Head-piece from *Mars*; but that you have even slain the *Cerberus* from *Pluta*, and the Snakes and Torches from the *Furies*? And though I will not strain it so high as that you exalts your self above all that is called God in the Temple, yet it is notorious that you pretend to more *Worship* then belongs you in the Cathedral. Nor does it look otherwise when men see you crowd your self in between the Dean and the Senior Prebend, then like *Caligula's* taking the middle between *Castor* and *Pollux*. 'Tis the same Imperial Spirit that makes you juggle so for place, that out of your seeking for Pre-eminence, you have almost made a Schism in the Church of *Canterbury*: and it concerns Christian Princes to take care how you rise higher, lest the ancient Ecclesiastical Controversies be revived, to the disturbance of the publick Tranquility, and the Ends of Government. Then as *Caligula* had his Images in the Synagogues, so have you your Curates at *Ickham* and *Chartham*, for they having no Power, you know, are no better than Statues and Images of Authority. But

E. Pal.

p. 12.

Mr. Lee of *Ickham* in particu-

lar is so like you, that if both your heads were cut off and *Transpos'd* on each others shoulders, no man living but would take you one for the other. But to omit these, I shall, as in the case of *Don Sebastian*, show by some more private marks of your body and mind, that though you might have imposed upon the *Partians* for a *Pseudo-Nero*, it is impossible you should be a *Perkin Caligula*, but the very Original. First he had a singular quality for which he admired himself, and gave it a peculiar name of *Adiatrepfia*, which was his unmoved constancy in assisting at, and looking upon the most horrid executions: and no less is your unrelenting and undaunted resolution, in first condemning the Non-conformists to *the Gallies, the Pillories, the Whipping-Posts, the Publick Rods and Axes*, and after wards beholding the Execution with an extraordinary sedateness and judicial temper of Spirit. He had beside this a peculiar Antipathy which was the reason that it was made an hainous and capital offence in his reign to name but a Goat upon whatsoever occasion. And the same aversion have you, if not to a greater height; insomuch that, I having but mention'd a Goat in my former

mer

mer Book, and under the disguised names  
 too of *Crabe* and *Cabre*, you do as good  
 as accuse me of animating  
 therefore the Subjects to Re- *Repr. p.*  
 bellion; He was moreover, as 210.

I told you, engaged in a great  
 intrigue of Courtship with the Moon, like  
 that of your Camarade *Bayes*: *Where*  
*shall I thy true Love know, Thine pretty*  
*pretty Moon?* To morrow soon,

ere it be noon, On Mount Vesu- *Reh. Com*  
 vio. And you in like manner p. 51.

boast your self to be Married  
 to a Goddess: but which of them 'tis I  
 know not, for *Selene* was adored under  
 the figure of *Minerva*: but 'tis most pro-  
 bably *Luna*, for you courted her in the  
 language of *Bayes* his Eclipse, but some-  
 thing more smutty, as I could rehearse to  
 you from a good hand, were it not too  
 broad for any mans mouth but yours, and  
 that I would not have you

blame me again for betraying *Repr. p.*  
 publicly the mirth and freedom 244.

of private conversation. The last  
 token of your *Caligulism* shall be the Sa-  
 crifices which he appointed of Pheasants  
 and Peacocks to his Emperour and accord-  
 ingly your Friend the Author of the

Friendly

*Friendly Debate* hath sacrificed a *Pheasant*, and I have sacrificed a *Peacock* to your Divinity; and I hope it will be therefore henceforth and for ever to me propitious and favourable. Now that I have thus far represented in the persons of *Caligula* and *Nero* what it was that you meant in your former argument, and what those Impositions are which you instruct Princes to practice, and their people to submit to, I shall dismiss this Testimony, after I have mentioned one Imposition more of *Caligula's*, and indeed very laudable, which if you also will submit to, I would recommend to your graver consideration. He condemned those Authors, whose Writings gave no satisfaction to the publick, either to blur them over with a Sponge, or lick them out with their tongues; unless they rather chose to be disciplin'd with Ferulaes, in Commutation of Penance, or to be duck'd over head and ears in the next River: a Punishment, which were it but for your incorrigible faculty of railing and scolding, you could scarce under so gentle a Government have avoided.

But to pass over, Mr. Bayes, from your *Roman Empire*, and come nearer home, the

the second Testimony that I shall produce out of your own Book of the same Nature, shall be what you reply upon me concerning the Vicar of *Brackley* in *Northampton-shire*, your Countryman Doctor *Sibthorpe*, and who commenced Doctor much after the same manner that you did. His Sermon is extant in the History, and some *Heads* and *Points* of it I gave you in my first book as a *Pinn-paper* of your modern Orthodoxy, and the very *Flower* of your *Branch* (not of the Church of *England*, as you would suggest) in the Doctrine of some men in the late times concerning Impositions, and I shall here list it after your grinding. Here in the

*Reproof* you undertake to tell the story of that Doctors Sermon, which needed not for the

From p.

366. to

p. 376.

Sermon is yet extant, beside what is legible in Arch-bishop *Abbots* Narrative; but you adventure besides to justify it and *Manwaring's* case also, which you allow to be the same with

*Sibthorpes*. But whereas you

Repr. p.

371.

lump it the matter to the indiscretion only of a single Country Vicar or so, I gave you those particular relations for an example of what was

then

then the Doctrine *a-la-mode* at that time in most of your Pulpits, and which you here attempt to bring in fashion. You defend that Loan and the carrying of it on in that manner, and if there were any illegal design of absolute Government promoted, you ascribe it to the *Impudence of the Members of Parliament*, to the *Assaults they then made upon the Royal Power by their bold and unreasonable demands*; to their bringing things to that pass, that nothing must be done unless the King would either grant away all his power to them, or keep it all to himself; to the *rudeness and insolence of their demands*, so that the King must sometimes govern without them or not at all. And as to those persons and Members that were imprison'd for refusing the Loan; you say they had forgot the respect they ought to their Prince, and the duty they ought to God; that the King was forced on those courses by the *stubbornness of Presbyterian Parliaments*; (No, Sir, it was by the Flattery of Archidiaconal Preachers) that as things then stood betwixt him and his Parliaments, *Parliaments of Law were superseded*; Their demands were disloyal and unreasonable: all good and ingenuous Subjects ought not to have

have stood then so curiously upon *Precedents* and *Niceties* of old Custom. And in conclusion you determine *ex Tripode* that whatever that Parliament or the Refusers of the Loan were by the *Repr. 376.* Laws of the Land, they were even then the most notorious Rebels by all the Laws of the Gospel. It is worth taking notice more particularly, that the Parliament which you have thus qualified, was the Parliament 3<sup>o</sup> *Caroli*, which I have heard by unprejudiced men to have been an Assembly of the most Loyal, Prudent, and Upright *English* Spirits that any age could have produced. Their actions are upon Record, and by them, not by your perishing and false glosses and relations, will posterity judge concerning them. And if we had no other effects and Laws from them but the *Petition of Right*, it were sufficient to eternize their memory among all men that wear an *English* heart in their bosom. But it is too much for you to make their Process however, and to arraign a Parliament as Traytors by an Ecclesiastical Bill of Attainder. You dare, you say, determine them so. 'Tis indeed like your fellow Bayes his Draw-can-  
Sir

Yours

*You huff, you strut, look big and Stare,  
And all this you can do because you dare.*

*Ec. Pol. p. 20.* But I assure you, notwithstanding your complaint of Ecclesiastical Laws, being in a manner cancell'd by the oppositions of Civil Constitutions, 'twill never be well in England as long as that Doctrine holds that men though Loyal by the Laws of the Land, yet are most notorious Rebels by all the Laws of the Gospel. Here is Divinity indeed, not on Gods name I am sure, nor the Kings; whose then, you may consider. You say indeed if Doctor Sibthorpe

*Repr. p. 370.* *intermeddled with the Kings Absolute Power of imposing Taxes without Consent in Parliament, he went beyond his own Commission.*

But why might he not, Sir, as well as you? Where is your Commission, unless what he might not Preach, you have

*Repr. p. 374.* License to Print, and that alters the case? 'Tis it seems no matter for Manwaring, you say, for his zeal in the Cause of Loyalty was punish'd with Preferments to despise the Pragmaticalness of that Parliament, and so



so was *Sibthorpe*, and so you doubtless expect to be if you be not already sufficiently punish'd with Preferments for the same merit. You will do well to Register your name in some Office of Address, or rather with the Clerks of both Houses; that if any new occasion of Preferment should start, they may not escape you, nor you according to your deserts be forgotten. In conclusion, these kind of Sermons were not the least inducement of that Petition wherein I told you *Martin Parkers* Ballads were complain'd of; the very next Article but one being against *such as Preach'd that Subjects have no Propriety in their Estates, but that the King may take from them what he pleaseth, and that all is the Kings, and he is bound by no Law.* In this Petition, though I find sundry things intermix'd which had been better omitted, yet it is no wonder, if having this just cause of complaint, their pen being in their hand they dash'd out further then was fitting against the Clergy. And now I hope I have pretty well evidenced that your Book hath said what it did say, and that you meant what you said, and it was but the self same design which both of you managed together. And yet, Mr.

Bayer,

Beyer, you think this is hard dealing, when you betwixt ranting and whining affirm this your Grand Thesis of the Unlimited and Absolute Magistracy, to be so granted and undoubted a Truth that it is plainly ratified by the unanimous consent of all mankind. Nay (inhumane!) when a man has demonstrated its certainty from that unavoidable influence that Religion always has upon the peace of the Kingdoms. But when beside you have drawn up a brief and plain account of the parts, the coherence, and the design; when you have provided with equal care and caution too against the inconveniencies of both extreame; Unlimited Power on the one hand, and Unbounded License on the other: when the bounds you have proposed are so easie to be observed, and so unnecessary to be transgressed by all parties concern'd. That Governors only take care not to impose things certainly and apparently evil, and that Subjects be not allow'd to plead Conscience for disobedience in any other case: and when you have so carefully avoided all kind of severity more than is absolutely necessary. Alas good Sir have you so, and nevertheless do they mis-

ule

use you? Where is your Witness? But pray what are indeed these bounds that you have set? Let us consider; though when you had made the Magistrate once Unlimited, I know not whether he gave you leave again to set Bounds to him. But indeed they are as you say very easie. Only that he take care not to impose things certainly and apparently evil. But what things are so, you take not so much care to inform him. Oh! I have it: *He may command any* Ec. Pol. *thing in the worship of God that* p. 66. *does not tend to debauch mens*

*Practices, or their Conceptions of the Deity.* But I was of opinion at the Magistrate would think fit not only to refrain from imposing things certainly and apparently evil: I am sure, if he won't, his Subjects for their part ought both as men, and more as Christians, to follow that Maxime. But therefore in such weighty cases who shall be the Expofitor, who the Judge betwixt People and Magistrate, one would have thought the Scripture should for good reason have decided a Case of Conscience. No it may as to matter of Obedience to the Magistrate; but as to the Magistrates Ecclesiastical Power of commanding

manding, it has rather supposed it and Christ himself, being as you make him but Natures Successor, thought not fit to meddle with it. Why then we must have something else, a *Guardian of humane Nature*, ( you know whence the word comes ) to decide the business. In conclusion ( though it be unusual, yet some precedents there are in the *Roman Empire* ) you declare your self the Magistrate and Judge of all Controversies, without expecting the suffrages of the Prince or People. We are like to be well-govern'd then, Mr. Bayes, are we not think you all well taught and edified? Pray tell me first whether you be a Lawful Prince. But that is not so much matter neither: for some Usurpers because of the tenderness of their Title, have thought fit to carry with the greatest clemency and Equality to the people, and to make very good and wholsom Laws for the Publick. What yours are, I must intreat the Readers to see at least in the Contents of the seventh and eighth Chapters of your *Ecclesiastical Politie*: where you tell them strange Stories, and argue at a wild rate, and, knowing they were such Dunces as that they would not comprehend your reasoning,

you

you fall out upon your poor distressed Subjects, and Rogue and Rascal them in the most significant terms of Rebels, Traytors, Schismatics, and the most notorious Hereticks, and, which you avow from the beginning of the Book to have been your design, you muster up all Christian Princes to *Neronize* and *Calignize* them, unless they themselves the Princes will chuse for their omission to be *Ulenstiepled* and *Sardanapalized* by you. But the Bounds which you boast your self to have so wisely and equally determined betwixt the Magistrate and the People are so inconsiderable and low, that any man may without weights leap plum over them. If any Subject do take that which is commanded to be apparently evil, he needs but, as I quoted you in my former Book, consider that if there be any Sin in the Command, he that imposes it shall answer for it, not the man whose duty it is to obey; for the Commands of Authority (mark but here the gradation of his capering Divinity) will warrant my Obedience, my Obedience will ballow or at least excuse my action, and so secure me from Sin, if not from Error. And in another place which I have since taken more notice of. *Publick Peace and*  
*Tran'*

Ec. Pol.  
p. 317.

Tranquillity is a thing in it self so good and necessary, that there are very few actions that it will not render virtuous, whatever they are in themselves, wherever they happen to be useful and instrumental to its attainment. Was there ever any man that writ of things of so high consequence, as to concern mens Reason, Honesty, and Salvation at so profligate and loose a rate! I will not be tedious, but those whole Chapters are such Stuff. You should have told us which actions were excused, and which were hallow'd, that we might have known how to shew them respect according to their several qualities. You should have caused the Magistrate to enter into good and sufficient security, and be bound in a round sum to save the Subject harmless. And the Penalty of the Bonds should have differ'd, what in case he run the Subject only into Errour, and what in case of Sin, And the day too should have been expressed, although it had been but the Day of Judgment. And in the other place; if there be so few Actions that the Publick Peace will not render virtuous whatever they are in themselves, it had been kindly done of you, Mr. Bayes,

to

( 165 )

to enumerate them, and to have gratified our curiosity with shewing us the whole process and manner of the Transmutation. And no less arbitrary and conjectural is that expression concerning the Magistrates Power: *The same Providence that intrusted Princes with the* *Ec. Pol. Government of humane affairs,* p. 40. *must of necessity have vested them with at least as much Power as was absolutely Necessary to the Nature and ends of Government.* You should have done well to have given us the Date when Providence intrusted the several Princes, and by what means it was brought about, You should have prescribed just how much power was intrusted, for it were a *Depositum*, it is fit there should be great exactness in order to account for it. But suppose Providence should have intrusted them with a little more Power then were absolutely necessary, whether or no would it have been absolutely Destructive? A small error in the quantity leads on to great absurdities. Neither will the same proportion agree with a Politick Bodies. The *Turk*, the *Pope*, the *Emperour*, the *King of France*, the *King of Poland*, and so on, are not all intrusted with the same Power :

Power: but some of 'em have more, and some perhaps less then is absolutely necessary. 'Tis pity that you were not at the Admensuration, and that you like *Apollon* did not order the Ballance of Government, or fill the Cartridges and distribute them to each Magistrate according to his *Calibre*. Then whereas you say that Providence must of necessity have intrusted the Magistrate with at least as much Power as was absolutely necessary, you ought to have consider'd whether, according to your usual Exactness, Necessity upon Necessity *be not false Heraldry*: and when you add to the Nature and Ends of Government you should have express'd what those were; for Authors are very much divided about it; you say, Publick Peace and Tranquillity. Why but some, for the attainment of that, hold it to be Necessary that Subjects should have no Arms, others that they should have no Wealth, no Propriety, and a third that they should have no Understanding, no Learning nor Letters. You have indeed express'd yourself in another place of the same Book that *there is no Creature so ungovernable as a wealthy Fanatick*: Now you that say, *Princes must have at least as much*  
 Power



Power as is necessary to the ends of Government, should also have weigh'd how much Wealth at least, and how much Religion at least was Necessary to make a man a *Wealthy Fanatick*, that Princes might have calculated better how to govern them. Whether a Dram of Wealth mix'd with a Pound of Conscience, or whether a Scruple of Conscience infused in a thousand Pounds a year do compound a *Wealthy Fanatick*. For otherwise there may be a great error in the Dose of Government; and you may, even during your dull and lazy distemper, have had experience how Necessary it is to be exact in the preparation and quantity, though it were but of *Callimelanos*. The word *Fanatick* is of a large acceptation. The Papists are *Fanaticks*; The Presbyterians, the Independents, the Anabaptists of *New-England*, and I know not how many more are *Fanaticks*. The Parliament 3<sup>o</sup> *Caroli*, that drew up the Petition of Right, and others that you mention, excluding that of *Forty*, were Presbyterian, *Fanatical*, *Puritanical*, and *Rebellious* Parliaments. Who knows at this rate where *Fanaticism* will end, and whether, according to your notion, every man who has an estate, or who asserts propriety,

may

may not in a short time be deem'd a Fanatick; nay, whether your self, that were formerly a Fanatick in point of Religion, may not now you are grown so wealthy, upon that account at least, turn Presbyterian? Moreover in your *Censure* too of *Platonick Philosophy*, when you first made courtship to Ecclesiastical Politie, but the Intrigue was not so avowed and publick, you have said: *Governors must keep their Subjects from sinking into too much Ignorance, or rising to too much Knowledge in matters of* — (I wonder what this should mean: it is not sure of those designs that aspire to serve your dearest — ) for the former renders them salvage, which is apparently destructive to Government; the latter makes them proud, conceited, and zealous; that breeds contempt of Governors, and sets them upon headless plots and designs of Reformation, that usually proceed to Rebellion, &c. I see now that it is to be supplied, or rising to too much knowledge in matters of — Religion. You that do, as if it were in Rogation week, perambulate the Bounds of Government, and leave them so easie to be understood, and so unnecessary to be transgress'd, why would you here have conceal'd them, or was it that in this manner

manner you drew a Line betwixt the Prince and the Subject to serve ever after for their Boundary? Will you believe me? seeing you had blam'd me for saying that you have extended the Princes Power to Impotency as a streight Line continued grows a Circle, when I saw this streight Line of yours, I took my Compasses and *divaricating* them for experiment, I drew the Circular Line all along thorow it, that you could not see what was become of it, and without the least offence to the Figure upon either account. But here again, Mr. Bayes, or to use a *Chancer's* word for change, Mr. *Limitour*, you are much out and too indefinite. You should if you would have said any thing to the purpose, have read a Lecture here to Princes upon the Centers of Knowledge and Ignorance, and how and when they Gravitate, and Levitate. But as you failed in the matter of Wealth and Fanaticism, and you did not instruct them how to know when their Subjects were fat or lean enough, when they were honest or dishonest enough, so you have here disappointed Governours extremely, who would have been glad to have behaved themselves well, and to have ruled with good reputation,

H

ration, that they are at an absolute loss  
 to know how to direct their Subjects and  
 to distinguish when their people are fools  
 enough, and when wise enough, or how  
 much ignorance would suffice a Reasona-  
 ble man. But however upon this Survey,  
 if the rule hold good that an Indefinite is  
 equipollent to an Universal, I collect from  
 these two passages of yours last quoted,  
 that you are pretty well satisfied that  
 Providence having of necessity intrusted  
 Princes with at least as much Power as is  
 absolutely necessary to the Nature and  
 Ends of Government, they ought for  
 Peace and Tranquillities sake (for 'tis  
 Must too in this out of your *Platonick*  
*Philosophy*) to keep their Subjects from  
 Arms, from Letters, and from Propriety.  
 For as you said formerly, *there are few*  
*actions* (whether of the Governour or  
 of the People) *which that Nobler end of*  
*Publick Tranquillity will not render virtuous,*  
*whatsoever the actions be in their own na-*  
*ture.* How others will judge of it I  
 know not, or how far Princes will think  
 Expedient which you affirm necessary:  
 but certainly if this course were once  
 exactly taken, the whole year would  
 consist of Halcyon Holy-dayes, and the  
 whole

whole world free from Storms and Tempests would be lull'd and dandled into a Brumall Quiet.

Neither are you more distinct in the matter of Necessity, wherein, it being the Original from which you first derive all this Absolute and Unlimited Government, it behoved you if ever to have *shown your Heraldry*. For though Necessity be a very honourable Name of good extraction and alliance, yet there are several Families of the Necessities, as in yours of *Bayer*, and though some of 'em are Patrician, yet others are Plebeian. There is first of all a necessity, that some have talk'd of, and which I mention'd you in my former Book, that was pre-eternal to all things, and exercised dominion not only over all humane things, but over *Jupiter* himself and the rest of the Deities, and drove the great Iron nail thorough the Axle-tree of Nature. I have some suspicion that you would have men understand it of yourself, and that you are that Necessity. For what can you be less or other who have given an Absolute and Unlimited Power to Princes, who have made Nature pre-existent to our Saviour, and pre-eminent, and have

therefore forced him to subscribe to its dictates, and confirm its grants, though to his own derogation and prejudice, who have obliged Providence to dispense Power to the Magistrate according to your good pleasure, and herein have claim'd to your self that Universal Dictatorship of Necessity over God and Man, though it were but *Clavi figendi causa*, and to strike thorow all Government, Humane and Divine with the great Hammer? There is another which may be named the Necessity of the Neck, or *Caligula's* Necessity before spoke of; that is, that the whole body of the People should have but one Neck. Do you mean this? for it is very useful and virtuous towards the attainment of *Publick Tranquillity and the ends of Government*. A third is the Necessity of the Calf, which in this Case would be very considerable to the Magistrate. For the Calves of the Legs being placed behind where they are altogether unuseful, it were necessary in some mens opinion, to place the Calf rather before for defence, lest men should break their Shins by making more hast then good speed. You may then reckon Necessity of State, to which in former times 'twas usual

usual to oppose Impossibility: and of kin to these is Necessity that has no Law, and that Necessity where the King loses his Right, that is, when nothing is to be had. And lastly, there is one sort of men for whose sake there is a common Maxime establish'd, that there is an Absolute Necessity they should have good Memories. I have thus far gratified your indefiniteness by this enumeration that you may hence forward pick and chuse a Necessity as you shall see occasion. And in the mean time, that I may furnish you with a Christen-name as well as a Surname, and set you up for an Author, you may please henceforward to write your self *Mr. Necessity Bayes*. But though the Necessity you speak of does more or less partake of all or most of those I have mention'd, it seems to me rather reducible to that of the Calf. That is to say, You do hereby seem to imagine, that Providence should have contrived all things according to the utmost perfection, or that which you conceive would have been most to your purpose. Whereas in the shape of Mans body, and in the frame of the world, there are many things indeed liable to Objection, and which might

have been better if we should give ear to proud and curious Spirits. / But we must nevertheless be content with such bodies, and to inhabit such an Earth as it has pleased God to allot us. / And so also in the Government of the World, it were desirable that men might live in perpetual Peace, in a state of good Nature, without Law or Magistrate, because by the universal equity and rectitude of manners they would be superfluous. And had God intended it so, it would so have succeeded, and he would have sway'd and temper'd the Minds and Affections of Mankind, so that their Innocence should have expressed that of the Angels, and the Tranquility of his Dominion here below should have resembled that in Heaven. But alas! that state of perfection was dissolv'd in the first Instance, and was shorter liv'd than Anarchy, scarce of one days continuance. And ever since the first Brother Sacrificed the other to Revenge, because his Offering was better accepted, Slaughter and War has made up half the business in the World, and oftentimes upon the same quarrel, and with like success. So that as God has hitherto, instead of an Eternal Spring, a standing

Sere-



Serenity, and perpetual Sun-shine, subjected Mankind to the dismal influence of Comets from above, to Thunder, and Lightning, and Tempests from the middle Region, and from the lower Surface, to the raging of the Seas, and the tottering of Earth-quakes, beside all other the innumerable calamities to which humane life is exposed, he has in like manner distinguish'd the Government of the World by the intermitting seasons of Discord, War, and publick Disturbance. Neither has he so order'd it only (as men endeavour to express it) by meer permission, but sometimes out of Complacency. For though it may happen that both the Parties may be guilty of War, as both of Schisme, yet there are many cases in which War is just, and few however where there is not more Justice on one then the other. To repel an Invasion from abroad, or extinguish an Usurpation at home would not require a long consultation with Conscience. The *Jews* themselves learnt at last that 'twas lawful to fight a battel on the Sabbath-day, rather then submit their throats to the Enemy; And had all Sectaries been of the opinion of some

Anabaptists and others, that all War is unlawful, they would have afforded matter rather of derision then disturbance. Nevertheless it is most certain, that Tranquility in Government is by all just means to be sought after, and it might easily be attain'd and preserv'd, did those that pretend to it sincerely labour it. But Men have oftentimes, as I have partly shew'd you in your own Doctrine, other Ends of Government, and that to compass them require other Means then will consist with so specious a Title. How should such persons arrive at their design'd port, but by disturbance? for if there were a dead calm always, and the Wind blew from no corner, there would be no Navigation. You will object perhaps, and I stand corrected, that though there should not be a breath of air, it might be performed by Gallies: and 'tis indeed the very thing propos'd in your *Ecclesiastical Politie*, that you might be row'd in state over the Ocean of Publick Tranquility by the publick Slavery: But because you are subject to misconstrue even true *English*, I will explain my self as distinctly as I can, and as close as possible what is mine own opinion in this matter of the Magistrate

strate and Government; that seeing I have blamed you where I thought you blame-worthy, you may have as fair hold of me too, if you can find where to fix your Accusation.

The Power of the Magistrate does most certainly issue from the Divine Authority. The Obedience due to that Power is by Divine Command; and Subjects are bound both as Men and as Christians to obey the Magistrate Actively in all things where their Duty to God intercedes not, and however Passively, that is either by leaving their Countrey, or if they cannot do that ( the Magistrate or the reason of their own occasions hindring them ) then by suffering patiently at home, without giving the least publick disturbance. But the Dispute concerning the Magistrates Power ought to be superfluous: for that it is certainly founded upon his Commis- sion from God, and for the most part suf- ficiently fortified with all humane advan- tages. There are few Sovereign Princes so abridged, but that, if they be not contented, they may envy their own For- tune. But the modest Question ( if men will needs be meddling with matters above them ) would be how far it is ad- visable;

visible for a Prince to exert and push the  
 rigour of that Power which no man can  
 deny him; For Princes, as they derive  
 the Right of Succession from their Ance-  
 stors, so they inherit from that ancient  
 and illustrious extraction a Generosity  
 that runs in the blood above the alloy of  
 the rest of mankind. And being more-  
 over at so much ease of Honour and For-  
 tune, that they are free from the Grips  
 of Avarice and Twinges of Ambition,  
 they are the more disposed to an univer-  
 sal Benignity towards their Subjects.  
 What Prince that sees so many millions  
 of men, either labouring industriously  
 toward his Revenue, or adventuring their  
 Lives in his Service, and all of them per-  
 forming his Commands with a religious  
 obedience, but conceives at the same time  
 a relenting tenderness over them, where-  
 of others out of the narrowness of their  
 Minds cannot be capable? But if this  
 gracious Temper be inconsistent with the  
*Nature and Ends of Government*, it be-  
 hooves them to be aware, and by the  
 rougher methods to provide for their own  
 and the Peoples security. For though  
 Princes are not, as in some barbarous  
 parts of the world, sworn as 'twere upon

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the Almanack, and violate their Coronation Oath, unless the seasons of the Year be very punctual, yet (abating only for any extraordinary accident from Heaven) they are responsible to him that gave them their Commission for the happiness or infelicity of their Subjects during the term of their Government. It is within their Power, depends upon their Counsels, and they cannot fail of a prosperous Reign, but by a mistaken choice betwixt Rigour or Moderation. But whoever shall cast his eye thorow the History of all Ages, will find that nothing has always succeeded better with Princes then the Clemency of Government: and that those, on the contrary, who have taken the sanguinary course, have been unfortunate to themselves and the people, the consequences not being separable. For whether that Royal and Magnanimous gentleness spring from a propensity of their Nature, or be acquired and confirmed by good and prudent consideration, it draws along with it all the effects of Policy. The wealth of a Shepherd depends upon the multitude of his flock, the good of their Pasture, and the Quietness of their feeding: and Princes, whose dominion over Mankind

kind resembles in some measure that of man over other creatures, cannot expect any considerable increase to themselves, if by continual terrour they amaze, shatter, and hare their People, driving them into Woods, and running them upon Precipices. Nay even if this similitude were pursued to the uttermost, and the *Absolute and Unlimited Power* over rational beings were so desirable as some, for their own sinister ends, will always be suggesting to Governors, there is not any so proper and certain way of attaining it, as by this softness of handling. If men do but compute how charming an efficacy one Word, and more one good Action has from a Superior upon those under him, it can scarce be reckon'd how Powerful a Magick there is in a Prince who shall by a constant tenour of humanity in Government go on daily gaining upon the affections of his People. There is not any Priviledge so dear, but it may be extorted from Subjects by good usages, and by keeping them always up in their good humour. I will not say what one Prince may compass within his own time, or what a second, though surely much may be done: but it is enough if a great  
and:

and durable design be accomplish'd in the third Life, and, supposing an hereditary succession of any three taking up still where the other left, and dealing still in that fair and tender way of management, it is impossible but that even without reach or intention upon the Princes part, all should fall into his hand, and in so short a time the very memory or thoughts of any such thing as Publick liberty would, as it were by consent, expire and be for ever extinguish'd. So that, whatever the Power of the Magistrate be in the Institution, it is much safer for them not to do that with the Left hand which they may do with the Right, nor by an Extraordinary what they may effect by the Ordinary way of Government. A Prince that goes to the Top of his Power is like him that goes to the Bottom of his Treasure. And therefore it is very unadvisable however to put a great stress upon little things, and where the Obedience will not countervail the Experiment. It is like a Man that knits all his force to throw an inconsiderable weight: he both strains his arm with it, falls short and makes no impression; whereas he that chuses a just weight, does neither  
find

find himself the weaker after he has delivered it, and reaches the length he aim'd at. And this I doubt has been the case in laying on so much load upon account of things at best only indifferent and ceremonious. But as it is the Wisdom and Virtue of a Prince to rule in this manner, so he hath that advantage that his safety herein is fortified by his Duty, and as being a Christian Magistrate, he has the stronger obligation upon him to govern his Subjects in this Christian manner. Even during the Law under the Mosaical dispensation, in that regal Chapter of the 17th. of Deuteronomy, it is solemnly commanded that when the King sits upon the Throne of his Kingdom, he shall write him a Copy of the Law in a Book out of that which is before the Priests the Levites, and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the dayes of his life, that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, to keep all the words of the Law, and these Statutes to do them: that his heart be not lifted up above his brethren, and that he turn not aside from the commandment to the right hand or to the left, so the end be may prolong his dayes in the Kingdom.



*he and his children.* And though our Saviour came to abrogate the Ceremonial part of the Law, yet this was so essential to the Magistrate's duty, that he confirmed and establish'd it stronger by his Doctrine. He declares indeed, that *those Christians are blessed who are persecuted for Righteousness sake, and when men shall revile, persecute and say all manner of evil against them: but it does not therefore follow that the Magistrate by fulfilling that Prediction does gain any of the Beatitudes.* Rather he is invited to the contrary course, for as much as the Merciful are blessed, for they shall obtain mercy, and blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth. And so, in the 13. to the Romans, where the duty of the Subject is so fully and excellently described, 'tis nevertheless as to the Magistrate said that *he is not, (which is to say, he ought not to be) a terror to good works, but to the evil.* Neither is it fair for any man to speak as though our Saviour had in a manner balked the whole business of the Magistrate intermixed with his jurisdiction. For whatsoever Christ did

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generally dictate, unless where he speaks to men under the express capacity and notion of Subjects, is equally bound upon the Magistrate as well as the People. And where he denounces, *Woe to them that shall offend one his little ones that believe in him, and who so doth it, that it were better for him that a Mill-stone were hang'd about his neck, and that he were drown'd in the Sea,* is said without reservation either to Prince or Subject. Neither where the Apostle Paul speaks of the tribulation which God recompences to the troublers of Christianity, is there any exempt Jurisdiction to be pleaded. The Power of Princes is not improperly resembled and derived down by Paternal Authority, and that which a Master hath in his Family: and in the 6th. to the Ephesians, where the rules are given of domestick obedience, yet both Parents are forbid too from provoking their Children to wrath, and Masters that they do not threaten their Servants. Indeed although Christ did not assume an earthly and visible Kingdom, yet he by the Gospel gave Law to Princes and Subjects, obliging all mankind to such a peaceable and gentle frame of Spirit as would be

be the greatest and most lasting security to Government, rendering people tractable to Superiors, and the Magistrate not grievous in the exercise of his Dominion. And he knew very well that without de-throning the Princes of the World at present, yet by the constant preaching of that benevelous and amiable Doctrine, by the assimilating and charitable Love of the first Christians, and by their signal patience under all their sufferings and torments, all opposition would be worn out, and all Princes should make place for a Christian Empire. Neither therefore did he, or the Apostles, or the Primitive Christians that trode on in their steps, notwithstanding their obedience to the Magistrate, intermit the declaring and propagating the whole Christian Doctrine in the doing of which, if I can express it so with decency, they did an act of the most direct and highest contumacy and disobedience to those that then Governed. And so it did and alwayes will happen, that whereas Christianity is indeed most certainly the greatest Friend to Government, and takes the

the greatest care, makes the best provision of any Doctrine whatsoever for the preserving of its authority; yet where the Magistrate does clash with the rules and ends of Christianity, he does of consequence subvert his own power, and undermine his own Foundation; not by any malignity that there is in the Religion, but by a distinct efficacy that it has in maintaining it self thorow all opposition. But when once Christianity had in this regular and direct way obtained the Sovereignty, Ecclesiastical persons in whose keeping the Counterparts of Christian Doctrine, and example are most properly deposited, began exceedingly to degenerate. For the former sincerity and devotion of the Teachers, joyned with their abstinence from riches or secular honours and employments, had, as it will do always, render'd them in the opinion of others worthy of that which they most contemn'd and avoided, and by how much they fled, they were the more followed by a devout Liberality: And good reason it was that as the people did partake of their Spirituals, so they should too of the Peoples Temporals:

porals: neither could any plenty then seem covious, when the Donors saw them to be so good Stewards of what they gave them, converting little to their own profit, but dispensing the most part to pious and charitable uses. But in those days *Venenum*, as 'twas said, *infusum est Ecclesie*, and Religion having brought forth Riches, the Daughter devoured the Mother. Not that I think any reward can be too great for one that is faithful in the discharge of so sacred an Office, but those that can go upright under the load of wealth, make up the lesser number of mankind, and for the most part they that seek it more earnestly do the worst deserve it. Too many of that order did then begin to slight their own Function, although of all others the most eligible and worthy: consisting in the sweetness of a contemplative life, the inestimable care of mens Souls, a freedom from the common occasions of vice, and from the Mechanical drudgery of raking together a fortune. That which was an Office before, was now turn'd into a Benefice, and one would not suffice the Appetite, but they

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introduced the Polygamy of Pluralities. Non-residence was so legal, that it was almost grown to a Science, and a man might have compil'd a Systeme of its several terms of Art and Distinctions. They follow'd the Courts of Princes, and entangled themselves in secular affairs, beyond what is lawful or convenient to the Sanctity of their Vocation: and from that unnatural Copulation of Ecclesiastical and Temporal together, have those Monsters of Practice & Opinion been begotten, with which the World has been ever since infested; They incumbred Christianity (that is the most short and plain Religion) with an innumerable rabble of Rites and Ceremonies; neglecting the sincere and solid for a *Mosaical* rubbish, that tends nothing to Edification, and which our Saviour had swept out of his Temple. They affected pre-eminence, and ruled their flock by constraint, Lording it over Gods inheritance. They rent the Universal Church in pieces, sometimes about the observation of a Festival, other whiles about their scuffles for precedence. By degrees they bearded Princes themselves, and challenged so exempt a Jurisdiction, that it was re-

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solved even the Concubines of Priests were not within the cognizance of the Civil Magistrate. In conclusion, they let the reins loose to their own Covetousness, Ambition, Pride, Ignorance, Formality, and Contentions; and could never take up again. Inſomuch that well-nigh ever ſince it has been more then half the buſineſs of Princes to regulate the brabbles and quarrels that have been unnecessarily ſow'd by ſome of the Clergy; and they have brought the World to that paſs that indeed it cannot longer ſubſiſt then Kings ſhall have and exerciſe an Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy as far as it can be ſtretched. And when the beſt Function was by theſe means the worſt corrupted, ſo far have they been from returning to the good and ancient wayes of Chriſtianity, that all their endeavours have bent to the eſtabliſhing of their iniquity by Laws, and propagating it by the moſt indirect methods of humane Policy. They have ſtrove conſtantly to make all Reformation, not only ridiculous but impoſſible; and to draw Princes into their Confederacy. Unto which end although they had accumulated the wealth of moſt Kingdoms into their own

own Coſſets, and grasped at all Jurisdiction, as oft as there was any fear of a Reformation, they have been very liberal again of Power and Treasure to diſpoſe and enable the Magiſtrate to War and Violence. There have never been wanting among them ſuch as would ſet the Magiſtrate upon the Pinnacle of the Temple, and ſhowing him all the Power, Wealth, and Glory of the Kingdoms of the Earth, have proffer'd the Prince all ſo he would be tempted to fall down & worſhip them. So that the Eccleſiaſtical Wiſdom has reſembled that after the Deluge, which having once waſh'd the World clean from that filth of Luxury and Impiety that it had in ſo long a time been contracting, men thought it wonderful Politick, inſtead of truſting to Gods promiſe, and following Righteouſneſs the only ſecurity againſt Gods judgments, to erect an impregnable *Babel* of Power, that ſhould reach to Heaven. But all ſuch vain attempts are ſtill by the Divine Providence turn'd into confuſion. In the mean time Nations, it is true, have by this means been run up into Schiſmes, Hereties, and Rebellions, which are indeed crimes of the higheſt nature,



nature, and of the most pernicious consequence; but do not in the least diminish, yea rather aggravate the guilt of those men who have always design'd to secure their own misdemeanors by publick oppression. For all Governments and Societies of men, and so the Ecclesiastical, do in process of long time gather an irregularity, and wear away much of their primitive institution. And therefore the true wisdom of all Ages hath been to review at fit periods those errors, defects or excesses, that have insensibly crept on into the Publick Administration; to brush the dust off the Wheels, and oyl them again, or if it be advisable to chuse a set of new ones. And this Reformation is most easily and with least disturbance to be effected by the Society it self, no single men being forbidden by any Magistrate to amend their own manners, and much more all Societies having the liberty to bring themselves within compass. But if men themselves shall omit their duty in this matter, the only just and lawful way remains by the Magistrate, who, having the greatest trust and interest in preserving the publick welfare, had need care to redress in good season

season whatsoever corruptions that may indanger and infect the Government. Otherwise, if the Society it self shall be so far from correcting its own exorbitances, as to defend them even to the offence and invasion of the Universality; and if Princes shall not take the advantage of their errors to reduce them to reason; this work, being on both sides neglected, falls to the Peoples share, from which God defend every good Government. For though all Commotions be unlawful, yet by this means they prove unavoidable. In all things that are insensible there is nevertheless a natural force always operating to expel and reject whatsoever is contrary to their subsistence. And the sensible but brutish creatures heard together as if it were in counsel against their common inconveniences, and in bolden'd by their multitude, rebell even against Man their Lord and Master. And the common People in all places partake so much of Sense and Nature, that, could they be imagined and contrived to be irrational, yet they would ferment and tumultuate at last for their own preservation. Yet neither do they want the use of Reason, and perhaps their aggregated

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as serious a thing, as you would make it ridiculous; and what I fancy by it, is Humane Reason guided by the Scripture in order to Salvation. What you determine it to be, is to be seen more particularly in the third Chapter of *Ec. Pol. p. 87.* your *Ecclesiastical Politie*, and summarily in the Contents; and you reproach me for representing it as if you there confined the whole duty of Conscience to the inward thoughts of the Mind and its persuasions; and this (to avoid tediousness, and that I may not return your humblest answer) I shall refer to the Reader. If, as there you say, the *Inward Actions* of the Mind, and Matters of meer Conscience be made terms Convertible; if Mankind have a Liberty of Conscience as far as concerns their Judgments, but not their Practices; if the Nature of Christian Liberty relate to our Thoughts, and not to our Actions; if Christian Liberty consist in the Restoration of the Mind of Man to its natural Liberty from the Yoke of the Ceremonial Law; I durst almost trust yourself, though I have no great inducement to confide in you, with the arbitration betwixt us. For if the *Inward Actions* of

of the Mind only be the Matters of meer Conscience, do you not confine the whole duty of Conscience to the inward thought and perswasions of the Mind? Or, if a man would help you over the Stile, and allow something to be Conscience that is not meer Conscience, do not you evacuate it again in saying, That men have a Liberty of Conscience as far as concerns their Judgements, but not their Practices? So that here is a second Commitment, and you have confined Conscience back again to the Inward Thoughts only and perswasions of the Mind. Nay even, if Christian Liberty consist in the Restauration of the Mind of Man to its Natural Liberty from the *Mosaical* Law, does not that too, according to your Doctrine here, dispense only with our Judgements, but our Practice is still, or may be bound up to the Observance of all the *Mosaical* Institutions. So that if you please you may keep the Lye to your self, of which you are so liberal, or let it remain in the middle till it be decided whom it of right belongs to, and let him take it and make his best on't. But in this of the *Jewish* Law you are indeed very distinct, and as dogmatical

as a man would wish. For  
 P. 413. De- you say, that if the Proconsul  
 fence. of Judæa should publish an Ed-  
 dict that all Christians shall sub-  
 mit to Circumcision out of regard to the eternal  
 Obligation to the Law of Moses, that were a  
 manifest violence to the freedom of the Gospel;  
 but whatever else he may command, so he  
 pretend not to any warrant of Divine Autho-  
 rity; whatever abuse it may be of his own  
 power, it is no abuse of Christian Liberty.  
 So that you do not determine that it would  
 be so much as an abuse of his own Power;  
 but you do determine, That, if he do  
 command, not only Circumcision, but  
 whatsoever else, (how strangely comprehen-  
 sive are those words!) it is no abuse of Chri-  
 stian Liberty. But you are so far in love  
 with this Notion, that you  
 Ecc. Pol. say, The Mosaiical Dispensation  
 p. 96. bring Cancell'd by the Gosp'l,  
 these indifferent things that had  
 been made necessary by a Divine positive Com-  
 mand, return'd to their own nature, to be us'd  
 or omitted only as occasion should direct. So  
 that here you plainly assert what you left  
 disputable in the former Passage, that the  
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Magistrate may, if he please, lawfully introduce and set up the *Jewish* Religion again among Christians. 'Tis a sad case in the mean time, and truly if our Saviour's cancelling the *Mosaical* Law do but render the same indifferent, I am afraid that his confirming of the Magistrates Ecclesiastical Power, that you told us of, is not much better, and had no great validity. But I do not now wonder that *you* said it was in the power of the Magistrate to establish what Religion he took to be most advantageous: For I see *you* are an honest man of your word, and meant it in good earnest. He may command whatsoever he pleases. He may set up the whole *Jewish* Religion, as occasion shall direct. Whither on God's Name will these Ceremonies of ours lead us at last, what shall we come to? I see there is nothing Divine or Humane, so unalterable or so Sacred, no Liberty that belongs to Men or to Christians that *you* are not ready to violate and prostitute to your own end; and *you* will turn any thing, *Jew* or *Heathen*, and preach up others to it rather than lose a Speculation, or be foyle'd in an Argument. Whereas no Man hath devell'd him-

himself of any Natural Liberty as he is a Man, by professing himself a Christian, but one Liberty operates within the other more effectually, and strengthen themselves better by that double Title. Especially if *your* Rule hold in this case; *That our Saviour hath Confirmed what he hath not Reversed.* For as to this particular of the *Mosaicall* Law, Christ has abrogated it for ever in perpetuity; and it must sure be a very pretty Doctrine this of *yours*, that so the Antecedent Necessity be taken away, the Magistrate may erect it again by a Subsequent. So in conclusion our Saviour has done just nothing, neither indeed could he by *your* Argument: And the Christian Subject being only at Liberty in his Judgment, is notwithstanding obliged in Obedience to conform to the whole *Jewish* Ceremonial, as oft as the Magistrate may think it expedient. But, I say, *you* ought to know and acknowledg that our Saviour has established Christianity, to indure till his second coming; and hath in the Institution of that Religion condescended, though he might have exacted both, to be himself treated without Ceremony, so that were supplied by

by Reality. For Christianity has obliged Men to very hard Duty, and ransacks their very Thoughts, not being contented with an Unblameableness as to the Law, nor with an external Righteousness: It aims all at that which is sincere and solid, and having laid that weight upon the Conscience, which will be found sufficient for any honest Man to walk under, it hath not pressed and loaded Men further with the burthen of Ritual and Ceremonial Traditions and Impositions. For whether indeed they be so heavy as they appear to the Scrupulous, yet they are not so light to be sure as you would perswade Men; and most Creatures know when they have their just load, nor can you make them go if you add more. In conclusion, it is most certain that as our Saviour has exacted those Duties which are necessary with more declarative strictness from Christians, then was under any other Religion, and thereby bound the Conscience to a severer scrutiny within it self over all our performances; so hath he gratified them on the other part with larger Exemptions and Priviledges from things indifferent and unnecessary. And it is a gross abuse whoso-

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ever strives to limit Christian Liberty only from the Jewish Ceremonial Law, which *you* too will hardly grant us. But whatsoever general Rules, Laws, and Precepts are given in Scripture, and more particularly in the New Testament, to direct the Magistrate in the moderation of his Power in things of this nature, do make up the great Charter of Christian Liberty, and they may justly plead it. 'Tis true, that the decision and punishment of those that shall transgress therein, if they be Supreme Magistrates, is reserved to God's Tribunal, and the Appeal thither, which *you* almost laugh at, is the most proper. But the Law by which those that offend their weak Brother, will then be proceeded upon, is very legible, both having been dictated by our Saviour himself, and by his Apostles. Yet though the Supreme Magistrate cannot be questioned, I am not at all doubtful but that he may punish any such Transgression in his Subalternals and Substitutes. And if it would please God to inspire the hearts of Princes to curb that sanguinary and unchristian Spirit of those that for their own corrupt Ends make Government to uneasy



to Princes; so that we might once come to the experiment how happy a Prince and People might be under a plain and true Christian Administration; I believe all Men, and especially Princes, would be so satisfied, and in love with it, that they would make it Treason to give them any contrary Counsel.

But the occasion of all this medly and Hotch-potch that you make in matters of meer Conscience, and of mixt Conscience, in the Liberty of Christians as to their Judgment, but not to their Practice, of the Magistrates Power to impose things by a sublequent, so he do it not by an Antecedent Necessity, is from your Ignorance of Divine and Humane things, which makes you jumble them so together that you cannot distinguish of their several Obligations. Or else it is your voluntary and affected perverting of your own knowledge, in the same manner as in Turkey they turn themselves so long giddy, till they can neither think nor see what is before them, and fall down in an extasie fit for Inspiration. Or it is that you may thus contribute to your own Maxims, and, seeing Governors must keep their People from sinking into too much

much Ignorance, or rising to too much knowledge in matters of ——— to do your part in muffling them up to play before you at the Blind-man-buff of Conscience.

Defence, p. 413. For whereas you quote out of the first of Peter 2. 13. and 15. *Submit to every Ordinance of man for the Lords sake, for so is*

*the will of God, that with well doing you may put to silence the Ignorance of foolish men; it appears, as if you had on purpose omitted what comes between in the latter end of the 13th, and the whole 14th verse: Whether it be to the King, as Supreme, or unto Governors as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well: and you neglect in the 16th verse, As free, and not using your liberty as a cloak of maliciousness, the conclusion, but as the Servants of God: and as Free you Print in the common character that men may not unless they look in the Bible, discern that it is part of the Text. These are pretty little contrivances. But if this be consider'd in the whole, it seems to me that by every Ordinance of man, is not meant every Law of man, but the Governors themselves whether Supreme or Substitute. And that*  
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Submission not to be intended singly concerning an Active Obedience: For few men will offer to say that if Ordinances should be interpreted by Laws, men ought so to obey every Law; for their duty is described as free, and as the *Servants of God*; so that whensoever those come to be contradistinguished, not Man, but God is to be obey'd. And therefore this Apostle, and so all the rest did actively disobey by Preaching the Gospel, and in particular Saint Paul perceiv'd another kind of *Necessity* then yours; *Necessity was laid upon him to preach the Gospel*. And you may find in the 9<sup>th</sup> to the *Hebrews* that those Ordinances which you contend still to be lawful, are absolutely voided. For the first Covenant also had Ordinances of Divine Service, and a worldly Sanctuary. And v-10, it stood only in meats and drinks, and divers washings, and Carnal Ordinances imposed on them until the time of Reformation. And you cannot, unless you shut your eyes, but discern *Col. 2. 14.* that our Saviour has blotted out the hand-writing of Ordinances, and taken it out of the way, nailing it to his Cross. Neither in the 13<sup>th</sup> to the *Romans*, does it appear to me otherwise.

wife than that therefore men ought not to  
 contemn, contradict, resist the Magistrate,  
 who indeed is the *Ordinance of God* accord-  
 ing to that Text and others; but in the  
 same place it is evident, that, as to active  
 obedience to Governors in particular cases,  
 the matter must be decided betwixt God  
 and every mans Conscience. And I must  
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 ence I understand Humane reason acting by  
 the Rule of Scripture, in order to obedience  
 to God and a Mans own Salvation. But  
 you not content to have said,  
 Ecc. Pol. p. 80. That the *Magistrate hath Power*  
*to make that a particular of the*  
*Divine Law which God hath not*  
*made so,* do avowedly and plainly make all  
 Humane Laws that do not countenance  
 Vice, or disgrace the Deity to be particu-  
 lars of the Divine Law; and that to break  
 any other Law then such, is a sin. And  
 that *all Laws Civil as well as Ecclesiastic,*  
*equally oblige the Conscience,* and upon pain  
 of Damnation. So that hereby whatso-  
 ever is enacted on Earth, is at the same time  
 enacted in Heaven. Every Law carries a-  
 long with it the pain of Excommunication.  
 What-

Whatsoever the Magistrate binds on Earth, is bound in Heaven : and he delivers every man who transgresses in Cart-wheels, and the number of Horses in his Team, or that buries not in Flanel, over to Satan. There is no Christian Magistrate, but, if he thought the matter went so high, he would be very tender how he made Laws, and rather than multiply them to the damnation of his good Subjects, he would bear with many a Publick Inconvenience. But this desperate Maxime (though what I am going to say is unavoidable, yet I do it with reverence) does impose upon God's Conscience, that he must make that a Sin which was not so before the Magistrate commanded the Duty ; it makes God to be the Magistrates Minister ; and, whereas the Law-giver contents himself with the Penalty that the Law exacts in case of failure, nevertheless at the same time he obliges God to execute Damnation upon the Offender. I am almost confident that the Divine Justice would never have been thus far at the Magistrates beck, but that you have told God, that *he must of necessity grant him at least thus much Power ;* and therefore I must  
fess-

confess there is no help for it. Will you never be ashamed of this damning and damned Doctrine? It were better that all Uniformity had never been invented, than that it should be upheld by such Theology. But I will not fall into a further transport, seeing some allowance is to be given you, by reason of your ancient acquaintance, and your present friendship with the Nonconformists; which obliges you to do them all good offices; and therefore, like that *Italian*, you would not do them an half-Courtesie, but contrive to kill their Bodies, and damn their Souls with one labour. Are there not many Customs that have gained the Force of Laws? Are there not many Persons that are ignorant of several Laws that are made? Are there not many Laws that by disuse are grown obsolete, and stand yet Unrepealed? What would you in this case advise God to do with poor Sinners? Will nothing serve but Hell-fire, or will you agree that there may be some gentler *Limb* prepared for them, where they may sweat out their guiltiness? It is impossible in such gross absurdities, but that a man should speak so the quick,

quick, though never so desirous to treat of sacred things with due reverence. But moreover, whatsoever Obligations may be put upon Mankind, they are to be expounded by that great and fundamental Law of Mercy. And therefore it was that our Saviour, even in the case of a Divine Positive Law, declared accordingly, and interpreted the meaning of, *I will have Mercy, and not Sacrifice*, as a general dispensation in all things that come within that respect, and consideration.

But to proceed further, I say, with submission still to better Judgements, and especially to Superiors, that I conceive the Magistrate, as in Scripture described, is the Ordinance of God constituting him, and the Ordinance of Man assenting to his Dominion. For there is not now any express Revelation, no Inspiration of a Prophet, nor Unction of that Nature, as to the declaring of that particular person that is to govern. Only God hath in general commanded and disposed men to be Governed; and the particular person reigns according to that right, more or less, respectively, which under Gods Providence, he or his

Prede-

Predecessors have lawfully acquired over the Subject. Therefore I take the Magistrates Power to be from God, only in a Providential Constitution; and the nature of which is very well and reverently expressed by Princes themselves, *By the Grace of God, King of, &c.* but I do not understand that God has thereby imparted and devolved to the Magistrate his Divine Jurisdiction. God that sees into the thoughts of mens hearts, and to whom both Prince and Subjects are accountable, sees not as man sees, nor judges as he judges; but is his own Measure, and the first Rectitude. But for the Magistrate, it is surely sufficient, that God has fortified him with a Divine Law, that he may not be resisted: but his Administration is Humane, neither is it possible either for him to exact, or men to pay him more than a Civil obedience in those Laws which he constituteth. Otherwise it were in his power not only, as some, and *Caligula* for example, to decree that he is God, but even to be so, God surely, although it does for the most part, or ought to fall out that the same action is a sin against God, and a disobedience to the Humane Law, punishes the

the



the Fact so far as he sees and knows in himself that is sinful, and contrary to the Eternal rule of Justice; but an Humane Law, can create only an Humane Obligation; and unless the breach chance likewise to be against some express Divine Law, I cannot see but that the Offender is guilty not to God, but only to the Magistrate, and hath expiated his Offence, by undergoing the Penalty.

I should be very sorry to disseminate, in a matter so weighty, any Errour, nay, even an unseasonable or dangerous Truth; none being more desirous or more sensible of the Necessity of Publick Obedience. And therefore as I have consulted none to make them conscious or culpable of what mistake I may run into; so if any shall convince me of one herein, I shall ingenuously retract it. But if this appear to be sufficient in reason for the preserving of Government, 'tis probable that it will prove to be so likewise in fact, and that there is no further provision made for the Magistrate. I do suppose therefore that the true stress and force of Laws lies in their aptitude and convenience for the general

ral good of the People; and no Magistrate  
 is so wanton as to make Laws meerly out of  
 the pleasure of Legislation, but out of the  
 prospect of some utility to the Publick.  
 Few Subjects are so capable as to imagine  
 any further Obligation; neither does that  
 Opinion lean towards Atheism, but pro-  
 ceeds rather from an honourable apprehen-  
 sion concerning God; that he could not  
 institute Government to the prejudice of  
 Mankind, or exact Obedience to Laws  
 that are destructive to the Society. There-  
 fore, as long as the Magistrate shall pro-  
 vide Laws that appear useful in the Ex-  
 periment, the whole People will stand  
 by him to exact Obedience from the  
 Refractory, and pursue them like a  
 Common Enemy. But if it fall out other-  
 wise, that the Laws are inconvenient in  
 the practice, men are so sensible of that,  
 and so dull in Divinity, that, should the  
 Legislator persist never so much, he  
 would danger to be left in the Field ve-  
 ry single; and should you, Mr. *Necessity*  
*Bayer*, inculcate your heart out, the Au-  
 ditory would scarce be converted. Indeed  
 how is it possible to imagine, and to  
 what

what purpose, that ever any Magistrate should make Laws but for a general advantage? and who again but would be glad to abrogate them when he finds them pernicious to his Government? And therefore it is very usual to make at first Probationary Laws, and for some term of years only; that both the Law-giver and the Subject may see at leisure how proper they are and suitable to the effect for which they were intended. And indeed all Laws however are but Probationers of time; and, though meant for perpetuity, yet, when unprofitable, do, as they were made by common consent, so expire by universal neglect, and without Repeal grow Obsolete. There is again beside the Convenience of a Law, another security in the Penalty. For because few Laws are so perfect or convenient, but that some man will out of a vicious temper or interest transgress them; the Penalties too of Pecuniary Mulcts, or of Life, or Limme, or Liberty, and whatsoever else are necessary; and doubtless the Magistrate does therein hold the ballance of Justice, and weigh the punishment as near as may be, that it should be proportionable to the offence. And out of that care it is that Go-

vernors make the same fault sometimes Capital, other-whiles Pecuniary, other, Imprisonment, &c. but that, whatsoever it is, being once undergone, all men reckon that the Magistrate and Justice are satisfied. For indeed, how can humane Laws bind beyond the declarest intention of the Magistrate in them? They who obey them, find therein their Convenience and Reward; they who break them, the Punishment: and upon those two Wheels all Government hath turned. But to make all Obedience matter of Salvation, is a Note that I believe no Tyrant ever thought of: And it would be some trouble to calculate, when a Law is alter'd here upon Earth, and the same Offence shall one year be Capital, and the next year perhaps thought fit to be Finable; how far the Judicature of Heaven takes the same measures, as it is a sin, in the Damnation: Or, suppose the Crime be pardoned here, why should not the Malefactor plead it too in Heaven?

Or how came it that *the Parliament 3<sup>d</sup> Caroli, whatsoever they were by the Laws of the Land, were notorious Rebels by all the Laws of the Gospel?* You say they are no Laws unless

unless they oblige the Conscience. It is no great matter however: For if they be not Laws, they are at least Halter; and the Obligation of that without Conscience will be sufficiently effectual. It was, you know, an Order in one Government, That he that propos'd a new Law, should appear with an Halter about his Neck in the Assembly; -it being thought reasonable that he should know his own Neck would be concerned as well as others in the Inconvenience. But for such an Ecclesiastical Law-giver as you, I know not what *Memento* were compitent, who bring in a Law that whosoever shall disobey any Statute, nay any by-Law, though he deserves not to be hang'd, nor to be fined ten pounds, yet shall in a trice, and the very same moment be dam'd. You should, before you thus confound all Humane and Divine Things together, have at least reflected upon Affairs nearer your understanding; To what purpose then have all those former Contests been managed; whether Episcopacy were *Jure Divino*, or *Jure Humano*? Whether Residence in a Man's Living, were by Divine or by Canon Law? In which last Controversie the Arch-Bishop,

whom I minded you of at your Siege of *Granada*, determined it to be of Divine Obligation. But the Pope said, That to declare that the Non-resident should incur the deprivation of the Benefice, would be a readier way, and much more effectual. And that is indeed too experienced a Truth, That Humane Penalties do more powerfully affect Mens Obedience than Divine Obligations. But therefore as it is unlawful to palliate with God, and enervate his Laws into an Humane only and Politick Consideration; so it is on the other side unlawful and unnecessary, to give to Common and Civil Constitutions a Divine Sanction; and it is so far from an owning of God's Jurisdiction, that it is an Invasion upon it. Now that I may more manifestly and further evidence, that, how horrid soever this Opinion be, which I object to you, yet I have not in the least aggravated your sense or words: it may be necessary, knowing what manner of Man I have to deal with, to press you, and instance a little closer in that one particular of the *Jejunium Cecilianum*, or the *Wednesday Fast*, in the 5<sup>o</sup> *Elizabeth*, to which purpose it is material that the original Clause

Clause be cited. 'Tis thus ; And because no manner of Person shall misjudge of the intent of this Statute containing orders to eat fish, and forbear eating of flesh, but that the same is properly intended and meant Politickly, for the increase of Fisher-men and Marriers, and repairing of Port-Towns and Navigation, and not for superstition to be maintained in choice of Meats ; Be it enacted, that whosoever shall by teaching, writing, or open speech notify that any eating of Fish or forbidding of Flesh, mentioned in this Act, is of any Necessity for the saving of the Soul of man, or that it is the Service of God, otherwise than as other Politick Laws are and be, then that such persons shall be punish'd as spreaders of false News. This Act to last for ten years, &c.

Now upon consideration of what you maintain & quote out of a late learned Pre-

Rastall. 5.

Eliz. c. 5.

p. 378.

late, whom you leave nameless, that you might have the honour of it ; Then the

Ec. Pol.

p. 59.

Law is no Law at all, and if it be not tyed upon the Conscience, it is no Sin to break it, and to keep it is no Duty : And adding hereunto what you say

Repr. p. 33,  
& 34.

in the Reproof, upon this occasion; I will challenge you, and all your Party of Mankind, to maintain that whatever enacts a Law, with this Proviso, That it shall not bind in Conscience, enacts no Law; whether therefore the Clause were added by Eccles, or by the Parliament, I am not concerned, and though you should throw in the Queen, and Convocation, and all, I care not, I will declare that they were all miserably out in their Divinity. I say, considering this, I am very jealous that neither your late Learned Prelate, nor You, ever read the Clause, but took it up at adventure. For there is not a word of Conscience in the whole Clause, and if you would mount what is said to mean Conscience, the Clause does not however exclude it, for it runs you see thus; *Or that it is the Service of God otherwise than as all other Politick Laws are and be.* Indeed at this rate you may say, and make what you please. But it is plain, that this Clause which is a part of the Act, and you call impertinent, was inserted with most exemplary and Christian prudence, to avoid not only apparent manifest evil, but the very appearance of evil, and to show the



the perswasion of those times, though it prove so contrary to yours, that the Ordinances of Meats and Drinks were so abolish'd by our Saviour, that this Act could not concern men in their Salvation; and therefore too they made it but a Probationer, that the Subject also might have time to try the Convenience or Inconvenience. Therefore, Sir, I would advise you to go to your Statute-Book, and see whether the Act be continued or repealed; lest at any time you have incurr'd not only the Penalty of false News, by *Teaching, Writing, and open Speech*; but lest you have unwittingly run your self into Damnation, according to your own Doctrine, by disobeying the Act. But as to your *throwing in the Queen, and Convocation too, and that they were all wretchedly out in Divinity*: You might have considered whether Archbishop *Parker* were not there among them, who methinks how light soever all the rest were, might have weigh'd something in your Ballance. This however is according to your wonted bravery, Mr. *Bayes*; and, as your Camarade said of the Criticks, so Queen, Parliament, Convocation, when they are not of your mind, *have no more*

Reh. Com. *wis in them than so many*  
 p. 8. *Hobby-horses:* And as Mr.

*Johnson* replyed thereupon, You  
 have said enough of them in Conscience. You  
 are, it seems, your self the Man you men-  
 tion in your Platonick Philosophy,

C. Pl. Ph. *Celsa qui mentis ab arce Des-*  
 p. 18. *spiciunt Errantes, humanae Se-*  
*nacula ridens.*—

And you look down upon these odd Passa-  
 ges of Humane Laws, at the same time  
 you make them Divine, as

*Ibid.* very despicable. Since you  
 are come to be the Cardinal

Deacon, you look, as you say the Cardinals  
 of Rome express it, upon all secular Affairs,  
 as the *Undersheriff* of this Life, with  
 great *Soffiego* and calmness. From what I  
 have alledged of yours in this Clause, I  
 hope it is evident, that you do maintain  
 not only that Statute, but all others to bind  
 under pain of Damnation. What need I  
 trouble my self in proving it out on you?  
 'Tis what you contend avowedly to make  
 us believe. God has annexed, you say,  
 the same Penalties to disobedience to Man's  
 Laws

*Laws as his own.* Henceforth Ec. Pol.

I pray do not criticize so se- p. 260.

verely upon *Calvin*, nor up-  
braid him with his *Horrendum Decretum* of  
Divine Predestination: for at this rate you  
will make every Humane Law as horrible  
and terrible. Take heed of hooking things  
up to Heaven in this manner; for, though  
you look for some advantage from it, you  
may chance to raise them above your reach;  
and if you do not fasten and rivet them  
very well when you have them there, they  
will come down again with such a swing,  
that if you stand not out of the way, they  
may bear you down further than you  
thought of. I assure you I am sore afraid  
and very sorry for it, that not only you, but  
all your Clergy of *England* are in a way to  
be damned. For there is a Law that hath  
all the Force and Validity that any Ecclesi-  
astical or Civil Constitution can carry a-  
mong us, and something more too boot,  
which was perhaps the reason that you said  
the *Anabaptists* were so much in the right:  
That is in the order of Publick Baptism in  
the Common-Prayer Book. For the words  
are these: *The Priest, if they shall certifie  
him that the Child may well indure it, shall*

dip it in the Water discreetly and warily  
but if they do certifie that the Child is weak,  
it shall suffice to pour Water upon it. This  
is in a matter of no less moment than the  
Sacrament of initiation into Christianity.  
And you know very well what is never-  
theless the Practice, and you have in your  
Doctrine informed us of the Consequences.  
Therefore, in my humble opinion, it were  
better for you, Mr. *Bayer*, to speak civilly  
of Princes, whensoever like Nursing-Fa-  
thers, or Nursing-Mothers, they speak  
tenderly of things relating to the Consci-  
ence and Salvation of their Subjects.  
though indeed either it seems they must  
themselves learn a new Divinity, or teach  
you better manners. And you would do  
well and wisely not to stretch, Gold-beat,  
Wyer-draw Humane Laws thus to Hea-  
ven, lest they grow thereby too slender to  
hold, and lose in strength what they gain  
by extension and rarefaction. Reverend  
Mr. *Hooker* ought to have serv'd you for a  
better example, who though he was wil-  
ling to drive this Nail as far as it would go,  
yet having spent his whole eighth Book in  
fixing the Obligation of Humane Laws,  
concludes his whole Ecclesiastical Politie  
with

with these Words; *Disobedience therefore unto Laws, which are made by the Magistrate, is not a thing of so small account as some would make it. However too rigorous it were, that the breach of every Humane Law should be held a deadly sin. A mean there is between those Extremities, if so be we can find it out. You might have done wisely to have imitated his Modesty.*

And no less pernicious is all that you say further in this matter which I named *publick Conscience*. Forasmuch as you said, that, *in cases of Publick Concern mens wills and judgments are to be directed and determined by the Commands and Determinations of the Publick Conscience.* She is a Lady doubtless of great Quality and Virtue, I should be glad to know her lodging and be better acquainted with her: though often it happens that there is little difference betwixt Publick and Prostitute. But she being very generous, if there be any sin in her Commands, will her self answer for it, and discharge you of all danger she will warrant your Obedience, and bellow, or at least excuse your Action. Do what you will with her, She will secure you from Sin, if not from Error. She will render your Actions virtuous,  
*whatever*

*whatever they are in themselves.* 'Tis the  
 best Woman that ever was born. And  
 farther: *A Doubting Conscience must al-*  
*ways at least as much fright us from disobey-*  
*ing, as from obeying any humane Law.* Ay,  
 Private Conscience is a meer Trollop to  
 her, an old Beldam superannuate, and a  
 Bulbagger fit to fright Children. These at-  
 leasts are the very Spirit and flame of Casual  
 Theology. Frighted at least as much on  
 this side, and frighted at least as much on  
 that side. What will become at this rate  
 of the poor simple Doubter? He will be in  
 as bad a Case as you when you were distra-  
 cted betwixt your *Book-seller* and your *Com-*  
*fortable Importance*: or like a Horse, he may  
 stand and starve between two equal Hay-  
 cocks; or hang in an at least betwixt Hea-  
 ven and Hell till the Day of Judgment. Nay,  
 but to avoid that inconvenience, if we would  
*Ec. Pol. p. 287.* *Speak properly, the Commands*  
*of Authority perfectly deter-*  
*mine & evacuate all doubtfulness*  
*and irresolution of Conscience*: So that now  
 instead of what the Apostle said, *He that*  
*doubts is damned if he eat*, the business is  
 theer alter'd, and if he doubts, he is there-  
 fore damned. And all your seventh and  
 eight

eight Chapters of *Ecclesiastical Politic* swarm  
 with such Affirmative and Imperative Divi-  
 nity. So that you need not have astonish'd  
 your self; when you find it ought after long  
 consideration; *that my Book was rather a*  
*Censure than a Confutation*; (yet that too o-  
 thers will judge of:) neither ought you to  
 have taken it so ill though I had only *squir-*  
*ted*; as you call it, at your *Thesis* and *Coru-*  
*laries*, unless you knew that Syringing had  
 been, *if we would speak properly*; more suit-  
 able to your *Distemper*. But to conclude  
 this Matter. Whatsoever *Villany* you say  
 there is in those mens Religion who distinguish  
 betwixt Grace and Morality, and how *Mo-*  
*dern* soever that *Orthodoxy*, I am sure these  
 opinions of yours are of an higher tincture:  
 but because it is a Theology of your own  
 begetting, 'tis reason to let you to have  
 the naming of it. But 'tis likely to prove a  
 very wicked wretch, and should it grow up  
 as in *Probability* at this rate, under your  
 Instruction and Education, its Malice  
 would soon supply its Age, and 'twill take  
 very desperate courses: and what End it  
 will come to you may easily imagine. I  
 hope nevertheless that this Doctrine is yet  
 an Alien in our Church, and therefore, if  
 Tor

for some notorious offence it come to its  
 twelve God-fathers, let it have however its  
 Priviledge, and be tryed *per Medietatem*  
*Conscientie*. There is one thing more in  
 your discussion of Christian Liberty concern-  
 ing the *Gnosticks*, whom you very frequent-  
 ly parallel to the Non-conformists; which,  
 would I seek for new matter of mirth, or  
 stir up fresh controversies, does administer  
 me abundant occasion. But I shall defer  
 that till your Diagnosticks be better. For  
 I am afraid you take that as you do many  
 things else upon trust, and should you, up-  
 on further consultation with your Chrono-  
 logers, discern that their Heresie began not  
 till after the death of the Apostles, you  
 would be shrewdly disappointed to find  
 your self guilty of the *Pseudonymos Gnosis*,  
 in that particular.

That which in my former Book I call'd  
 your third Play, of *Moral Grace*, you here  
 act over again; but with so trivial levity  
 that indeed I perceive I did you injury in  
 calling it so, for I see it is but an old Farse  
 new vamp'd. And truly here especially,  
 but thorow your whole *Reproof*, it seems  
 that you do not trouble your self so much  
 about



about the weight of the matter, as disquiet your mind with an Emulation of Wit, of which you ought to be a good Husband, for you come by it very hardly. Whether I have any at all I know not, neither farther than it is not fit for me to reject any good quality wherewith God may have indued me, do I much care : but would be glad to part with it very easily for any thing intellectual, that is solid and useful. Neither therefore do I at all complain or trouble my self, though I see you borrow or steal it before my face, and that you *turn* (with what felicity let others judge) *three parts of my own Book*, as you say you could, *upon me*. Much good do you with it, I will never question you for't. But therefore when you should have been treating here with due gravity concerning the most serious Subject perhaps in all Christianity, you fall a mousing about the definition of a Quibble. You need not upbraid me with that which is the best of your Science, and I foresee within a few Pages that I shall discover you to be much better at it than I am, and that you (if it be a Quibble it befits you) are a meer Word-pecker. You have contrary to all

all Architecture and good Oeconomy made a Snow-house in your upper Room: which indeed was Philosophically done of you, seeing you bear your head so high as if it were in or above the middle Region, and for you thought it secure from melting. But you did not at the same time consider that your Brain is so hot, that the Wit is dissolv'd by it, and is always dripping away at the Icicles of your Nose. But it Freezes again: I confess as soon as it falls down, and hence it proceeds that there is no passage in my Book, deep or shallow, but with a chill and key-cold conceit you can ice it in a moment, and slide there over it without scatches. But, having done that, you shew your self mightily offended that I have upon this subject of Grace told you, that *if it be resolved into Morality, I think a man may almost as well make God too to be only a Notional and Moral Existence.* I have told you that I foresaw every where at what you would be carping, so I did here, and nevertheless thought fit to express it so upon good deliberation. And could you now have held your Tongue you had heard no more of it, whereas now I am obliged frankly to satisfy you of my several

veral Reasons. And 'tis first upon occasion of your *Tentamina Physico-Theologica* before mentioned, which you Dedicated to my Lord Arch-bishop; it being your first Address to Ecclesiastical Fortune, and an Essay by writing against Atheisme, to gain Authority to whatsoever Doctrine you should afterwards disseminate. I should not say what follows did I think I could thereby offend my Lord Arch-bishop, who having the oversight of this whole Church upon him; does, of course, and conscientiously doubtless, transmit such applicatory discourses to his Chaplains. So I suppose you bespoke Doctor *Grigg* to make a favourable Report in your behalf, and give you, as he did, a Cast of his Office in the License. I must deduce the thing to make it clear to you. As soon as I open'd the Book at the Title, and saw the Authors name, if you be the same person, I met with *Typis A. M.* but we two not being then acquainted, surely you could not prophesie that I should be the man that should Print you in so legible a Character in a first, and now this second Edition. Next after that *Vemales*; which I could not reconcile either in Gender or Number but concerning

ing you and your Book, that henceforwards you were both alike Venal; you indeed, as in an Auction, to be Sold by Inch of Candle: Where? *apud Jo. Sherley*. Ay, there it was where you and your Book both lodged at one anothers expence. For whatever others are, you were then a meer *Shop-diviner*.

Rep.p.21. And did so nimble all his Library, and dirty them with

your Thumbs, that the poor

man had not one new Book left, but was fain to Sell them all at second hand. But

where was his Shop? *Ad insigne Pelicani*.

A very Emblematical sign where you digged and pick'd your very Heart-blood and Brains out to nourish your young *Tentamina*.

Where was this? *in parva Britannia*.

You should have done well to have Printed us the Map of it; for I find it not in your

*Heylin*, who mis-led you *on the South side of the Lake Lemman*. But, wherever you live,

You will take a course to make it *little Britain*.

This is not all: *Et apud Sam. Thompson*, to direct men further; and you were to

be had at as many places as *Buckworths Lozenges*, *In Cameterio Divi Pauli*: Bury him

out of the way 'tis no matter: But, *ad Insigne*

*signe Capiti Episcopi*, at the Sign of the Bishops-head, there you are sure to be heard of.

And, to convince men that this was not all pure Chance, but there was something of Design and Wit in't, turn but over the Leaf and you meet full bob; *Reverendissimo in Christo Patri & Domino, Domino Gilberto, Providentia Divina, Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, totius Angliæ Primati & Metropolitano, & Augustissimo Principi, Carolo Secundo, Magnæ Britannię, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regi, a Secretioribus Consiliis.*

So here you *apud Jo. Sherley in Parva Britannia*, and my Lord Arch-bishop, *totius Angliæ Primas*, and *Carolus Secundus Magnæ Britannię Rex*, are brought to an Interview, and to set up a Triumvirate together. But I was at first surprized by your Marshalling and Commas, not being able readily to distinguish whether it were not dedicated also to the King, and which of the two was the others Privy-Counsellor.

Well, to proceed; *Nullus dubito quin mineri pedibus tuis provolvi Recentem quendam Ignotæ Frontis Clientulum*; and well he might, for he knew not yet the height and breadth of your Forehead: Had he, to  
remark

remark it the better, it being so unknown, set a Brand upon it, it had been some court-relie to the Publick. *Et forsam obtupestit.* 'Tis an uncivil Supposition; did you not since lessen it by affirming in your *Hierogil; Clerus Britannicus super mundi:* Suppose, Mr. Bayes, you may suppose it seems what you please; *Rech.Com.* I have nothing to do with your suppose: Suppose quoth a? —

But you intend to make him amends; *hominis fiduciam.* This salves it indeed a little: For truly; If any thing in the World could rebate the vigour of so acute and solid a judgment, it must have stounded him to reflect upon your Confidence, then in that Address, but much more in your latter Writings. But, *Qui felicius litaturas sperarem studiorum Primitias quam si in summi Pontificis dextram libandas submitterem?* Pretty well. *Tum quod anime germinantis impetum represserint quorum potius intererat tenella Conaminum germina radiis maturantibus inspirasse.* The inspiring with Beams is a new Invention. But sweetgerminating Soul, what was it did betide thee? Was it changed in the Cradle? Alas for't!

You

You were whimpering I doubt already, as you did afterwards to Doctor Baitburst, about the *Chains and Fetters* of an unhappy (yet civil) Education. *Si vero, jubare vestro assentur*; do you mean Sun-burning or Blasting? *sic forte* (suppose again, though it were *quod non est supponendum*) *ut indies murescant, dum tandem studia nostra ad meliorem frugem pervenerint.* You found Ecclesiastical Politics, Defences, Prefaces, Reproofs even now stirring within you. *Uti plerumque solent Adolescentium parvis minus vigoris & maturitatis adipisci.* Do you mean it literally? you do to be sure where you speak in the next line of enjoying *felicigenia & forte*, which was all you cared for, and which you promised your self, *tam in syderis affectum*: Take heed that you become not *syderatus*, for that is worse than a Fanatick. *Sibi postulat Immensa Numinis Magister sacratissimos & prorsus Augustos Mæcenates.* Nay then I see you did indeed dedicate the Book both to my Lord Arch-Bishop, and the King, and in that precedence; or otherwise you have given my Lord a Title which he would not have thanked you for: But the whole Expression

sion, had any one but you, Mr. *Bayer*,  
 used it, is very Pedantical ; for though  
 you were scraping about for a *Mecenas*,  
 God to be sure stands not in need of one,  
 or however not of your chusing. But now  
 your Theology thickens upon us : *Cum pro*  
*Aris dimicaverim cujus potius auxilium im-*  
*plorarem quam vestra, Venerande Antistes,*  
*qui iis tanquam numen Tutelare præsideas.*  
 Here however you make my Lord indeed  
 but a *Tanquam* Deity ; but expect a little.  
*Non vide cujus tantumdem interfit ut Victor*  
*evadam, quantam summi Pontificis : Nem-*  
*pe si optimo numini impericium abrogetur quid*  
*sequitur nisi protinus Maximo Pontifici a-*  
*bregandum esse ?* Really, Mr. *Bayer*, very  
 closely argued, and from an efficacious To-  
 pick. But here you have made my Lord  
*Summus Pontifex*, and *Pontifex Maximus*,  
 to the great disparagement of the other  
*Old Gentleman* you speak of ; but which is  
 more, the pegging out of the Prince, who  
 might otherwise by your latter Law have  
 pretended a Title to the Place, and exer-  
 cised it in Person. Beside, that you have  
 curtail'd *Optimus Maximus* from the Deity,  
 and made him glad to go half with the Bi-  
 shop,



shop, lest he should leave him nothing. But at last it comes in plain terms: *Adeo res eadem sit de numine bene mereri atque de vestra Clementia*; which I can English no otherwise but thus; Inasmuch that it is the very same thing to deserve well of God as of your Grace. That afterwards is pretty concerning your self; *Hosce Gigantum fraterculos non sat duxi expugnare nisi ut fabulantur superos*, &c. making that what had been but fabled of the Gods, you had atchiev'd in good earnest. Had my Lord seen it, or had but Sir Francis Vere, he would for certain have spit in your Mouth. But your last Collect is something strange, praying for him; *ut sero tandem in Triumphantis Ecclesie Gloriam & dignitatem* ( that *dignitatem* comes off at last very poorly ) *cooptetur*. 'Tis true, better late than never; But to pray that it may be very late before a Man get to Heaven; hath, I confess, been done in the case of a secular Prince once by a Heathen Poet; but was not so decent a piece of Chaplainship towards my Lord Arch-bishop. I see you write, Mr. Bayes, here after the Copy of Mr. Croxton, and others in the former times;

times; *sanctissime Pater*, and *sanctitas vestra*, *spiritus sancti effusissime plenus*; *optimus Maximus qui in terris*; *Quo rectior non fiat Regula & quo prior est corrigenda Religio*. These were fine Complements to be bandyed among Ecclesiasticks. But what was in your mind, Mr. Bayes, to write this Letter, when a year after you appeal to

Doctor Bashurst, *that it was*  
 C.P.Pb.p. 1. *he knew one of your greatest*  
*designs in this World to be one*  
*of the most unconcerned men in's?* You did it out of the meer abstracted generosity of your heart, and writ only your Letters Testimonial, in this manner on my Lord Arch-bishops behalf. For what I perceive you had by this breath only cool'd your own Porridge, and things were not as they should be, till upon further solicitation you began

C. Pl. Pb. *that you were exceedingly strait-*  
 p. 184. & *ned in time*; and then a little  
 p. 242. *after were all Cock-a-Hoop,*  
*upon the very point of your de-*  
*parture to London. My dearest*

Feb. Com. p. *Cuz. (were you before us in*  
 36. *the Sun-beams, buz.) From*  
*Trin. Col. Oxon. May 2.*

Thugh

Though you are so-fertile, that when a man hath once begun, he can scarcely give over laughing: I have not forgotten, that my occasion of quoting this your Epistle, was, to shew you might take it well I express'd your Notion of God so modestly; when, in the very Treatise where you confound Atheism from *Pelion* to *Ossa*, from top to bottom; yet you would at the same time, for your own ends, Deifie a Person you had never seen, and worship an unknown God. But you were so hungry at that time, that you would have ador'd an Onion, so it had cryed, *Come eat me.*

Another Reason why I said to you, that to resolve Grace into Morality, was almost the same as to make God a Notional and Moral Existence, was from a Passage I met with in your C. P. Pb. p. *Platonick Philosophy. From all* 164. *which premises, we see that*

*Gods Benignity, Goodness, and Beneficence, consist in a gracious Propensity to let forth the Communication of his fulness to his Creatures, which being lodged in the Divine Will, does not only suppose its freedom, but is also subject to its Determination; so that though it may encline, yet it cannot either command or destroy its liberty: because if it should, it would*

L

not

*not only interfere*— Here is indeed material intellectual Puff-past; *Pimmers-hall* has nothing like it. This is to shew how excellent you are at quodding a Pea to stick upon the Point of a Needle. But what would, I know not what, *not only interfere with?* Why, *not only with Gods Moral accomplishments, but it would withal be inconsistent with it self.* Gods Moral accomplishments! If it were an Oath, I should not think it binds me: But in the mean time methinks it has something in it bordering upon Blasphemy: But we Lay-men do not distinguish well when the Clergy blaspheme, and when they speak reverently. You perhaps, Mr. *Bays*, intended it very well and honourably, but you had talked your self round; and wanted a better word only: for I must confess 'twere proper enough to speak of the *Moral Accomplishments* of some young Gentleman at the Inns of Court that were upon his Preferment; but I do not remember to have heard it used any time upon this occasion. I hope you see by this time that a man might at your rate of talking, have made God as well only a Notional and Moral existence. And to make the preaching of any other Doctrine ridiculous, you fall into such a desperate fit of Blasphemy, as I never heard any man

man but your self; you indeed have it often.  
*The Nonconformists Preachers*, you say, *make*  
*a grievous noise of the Lord*

*Christ, talk loud of getting an* Rep. p. 56.  
*interest in the Lord Christ, tell*

*fine Romances of the secret Amours between*  
*the Believing Soul and the Lord Christ, and*  
*prodigious Stories of the miraculous feats of*  
*Faith in the Lord Christ.* Did ever Divine

rattle out such prophane Balderdash! I cannot refrain, Sir, to tell you that you are not fit to have Christ in your mouth. You talk like a Mountebank, and seem to know so little of our Saviour, as if you had never convers'd but with *Salvator Winter*. Is this our great Champion against Atheism? Is this he that tells young Gentlemen, *They are not acquainted with any Hi-*

*stories, unless that perhaps of* Pref. E. P.  
*the Follies and Amours of the* from p. 22.  
*French Court? Alas young* top. 45.

*Gentlemen, you are too rash and*  
*forward: Your Confidence swells above your*  
*Understandings. 'Tis not for you to pretend*  
*to Absolutism. 'Tis too great a Priviledge for Boys*  
*and Novices. 'Tis samciness for you to be profane,*  
*and to Censure Religion, Impudence and ill*  
*Manners. It were so indeed in the presence*  
*of so great an Artist. They ought to expect*

till you have instructed them better in't, and set up an Academy and publick Lecture to that purpose. What Distinction do you make betwixt the Amours of the French Court, and the secret Amours betwixt the believing Soul and the Lord *Christ*? What betwixt the Feats of Faith in the 11th to the *Hebrews*, and the Chivalry of *Don Belianis* or *Don Quixote*? What between the Romances of the Lord *Christ*, and those of the *Grand Cyrus* or *Cleopatra*? None at all. Tell me truly, as you are wont to conjure me, and by the eyes of ancient Friendship, Was it not here that (as you told C.P.Pb. p.3. Dr. Baiburst) *the Recreation you took to frame your Thoughts and Conceptions into Words, did almost equal the Ravishing delight you derive from their first Births and Discoveries?*

It is an uncomely thing to pass immediately from such foul expressions, into any discourse of so serious a Subject, without some more cleanly Transition; and a man had need wash himself first, before he handles any place of Scripture, after you have so be-ruined the Argument, 'Tis the fifth to the *Galatians*, where you had before expounded the Fruits of the Spirit to be meek Moral Virtues, and the Joy, Peace and Faith there

there spoken of, to be only  
*Peaceableness, Chearfulness, and Faithfulness*; as if they had  
 been no more than the three  
*Homiletical conversable Vir-*  
*tues, Veritas, Comitas and Urbanitas.* And  
 truly you do so face me out in justifying this  
 your Interpretation, that I was almost ready  
 to have yielded it up, and confess my self  
 in the wrong: Neither did I think it any  
 thing extraordinary, if you had chanced  
 once in your life to have understood a thing  
 rightly, or for my self to have been more  
 than once mistaken. But you do so insult  
 and vociferate upon it, like one of your *bul-*  
*lie* Princes, who had the Trumpet ready  
 to sound whensoever he hit the Ball at Ten-  
 nis, that I have a mind to try a little fur-  
 ther, whether you were not in the Error.  
 In that of Faith you say, *Thou whosoever*  
*other Acceptations it hath in Scripture, 'tis to*  
*be expounded here of Faithfulness, in oppositi-*  
*on to the Perfidiousness of the Gnosticks; Peace,*  
*of Peaceableness, in opposition to the Contem-*  
*ptuousness of the Gnosticks.* 'Tis great pity that  
 you could not invent too, how Joy should  
 mean Chearfulness, in opposition to the  
 Melancholy of the *Gnosticks.* And you say;  
 that *Faith here is reckned up as one of the*

*Fruits of the Christian Faith, and therefore must be something distinct from it, and therefore can be nothing but the Virtue of Fidelity.*

Whereas it is plainly enumerated as a Fruit of the Spirit of God here in the 22 Verse, and 'tis strange you should be so sleepy, as not have seen in the fifth Verse: *For we through the Spirit, wait for the hope of Righteousness by Faith*: but you had indeed a particular Reason to wink at that in this Controversie. And in the sixth Verse, *In Jesus Christ Faith only availeth which worketh by Love*. So that you have mis-interpreted the Place only out of love to your Notion; and by this pretence, to enervate the Grace and Work of Gods Spirit; indeed to make a meer Play of Faith, that you seem to have nothing of a Divine, but from hence to deserve the name of that *Du-Foy*, whom you in p. 11. of your *Reproof* have quoted. For even *Gratius* too, who is of great Reputation with all men, and ought with you to have more Authority than ordinary, does in his Annotations on this Text, expound Faith to be here *Aperta Professio vere Fidei*, an open Profession of the true Faith, & *opponitur Hæresibus*. So that, if I might advise you as a Friend,



Friend, 'twere convenient for you to quit your Comment, though being your own, it must needs be dear to you; and observe rather the Apostle's Rule in the last Verse of the same Chapter, *Let us not be desirous of Vain-glory, provoking one another, envying one another.* But of al that you say in this business, nothing is more pleasant, then where arguing this matter, you say to me, *If you have credit* Rep. p. 118. *enough to borrow a Bible in the Neighbourhood, you will quickly find (if you can find the Epistle) that St. Paul is there describing the opposite effects between the Flesh and the Spirit; and therefore as all the Fruitts of the Flesh there reckoned up are Immoral Vices, so must all the Fruitts of the Spirit there, opposed to them, be Moral Virtues.* It follows not. For those that speak distinguishingly of Grace, understand thereby an extraordinary Work of Gods Spirit, subduing their Wills, and heightning mens performances beyond the possibility of our endeavours. But no Fanatick, nor Un-fanatick ever doubted, but that men have pravity enough to be wicked, without any extraordinary assistance of some other Spirit. So that you argue, Men have sufficient Power of their own to do that which is Evil, therefore they

have sufficient *power* also of themselves by an ordinary influence, to do that which is Good and Adequate to Salvation. I deny not nevertheless, that some sins are so desperate, and of so high Malice and Contrivance, that no man could invent them out of his own Ingenuity, or practise them in his own Confidence, but must be strengthened there-to by supernatural Auxiliaries, and then indeed the Opposition you speak of betwixt Immoral Vices and Moral Virtues; or, as others, betwixt Sin and Grace, is more full, and runs parallel. And seeing you are talking of *Gnosticks* (but I have lately given you a caution about them, and I cannot find in History how the *Gnosticks* had already made an inrode upon the *Galatians*) *Simon Magus*, that goes for one of them with you, is one that mounted above the Humane pitch in his performances, and men tell us prodigious stories of the miraculous feats that he did, but it was by the extraordinary assistance of two Devils, one it seems not having been sufficient.

But, as to the main Controversie of the Non-conformists, distinguishing betwixt Grace and Morality, you only shew therein the Malice of your Wit: Whereas there is none of them but acknowledges Morality  
to

to be absolutely necessary, and that without it Christianity is nothing; but however that to render men capable of Salvation, there is a more extraordinary influence of God's Spirit required and promised. You in the mean time make merry with it, and as in your *Reproof* (to shew your skill in Anatomy) you will have Conscience to be seated in the *Glandula Pinealis*, ('twas civilly done however that you placed it not in some other *Glandule*). So in your *Defence*, you say, *It were an easie task*

*for a Man that understands the* Def. p. 343.  
*Anatomy of the Brain, the*  
*structure of the Spleen and Hypochondria, the*  
*Divarications of the Nerves, their twistings*  
*about the Veins and Arteries, and the sympathy*  
*of the Parts, to give as certain and me-*  
*chanical account of all its Fanatick freaks*  
*and frensies, as of any Vital or Animal Fun-*  
*ction in the Body. The Philosophy of a Fan-*  
*tick being as intelligible by the Laws of Me-*  
*chanism, as the Motion of the Heart, and*  
*Circulation of the Blood; And there are*  
*some Treatises that give a more exact and con-*  
*sistent Hypothesis of Embusism, than any*  
*Des Cartes has given of the natural Results*  
*of Matter & Motion.* 'Tis very well said, and  
 what was to be expected from such a one as

you,

you, of whose Philosophy and Religion the Mechanism is so visible in the *Tentamen* 23, concerning that *Sophism* of Nature, and the *vehemens & effrenata veneri coitus cupiditas & exquisitissima voluptas*, though there is a *Maxime* on the other side, *Omne Animal triste est post coitum, præter Gallum Galinaceum, & Sacellatum gratis fornicantem*. But this Hypothesis of yours, confounding the extraordinary influx of God's Spirit for the Power of Nature, seems to arise from your being ill principled, and not well read in the Doctrine of the Church of England concerning Original sin, which you make not to be a Crime, but an infelicity inflicted by God himself upon Mankind, as a Punishment of Adams Sin, and what is an *Def. p. 198. Act of his* (that was God's) will, can be no fault of ours.

We should be all engaged to you, would you carry this point thorow and make it good. And another reason of your Opinion, is, your too high conceit of mens good Works; as if, contrary to the stream of the Scripture, we could be thereby justified. For though you would make all the Party of English Nonconformists answer for one passage in *Flaccus Illyricus, Bona Opera sunt per-*

*perniciosa ad Salutem* is falsely Ec. Pol. p. 74. imposed upon them by you; and 'twere well that you understood *Flaccus* himself rightly; for whosoever shall, to the prejudice of our Saviours Merit, and debasing the operation of the Holy Ghost, attribute too much to his own natural vigour and performances, will be in some danger of finding his *Bona Opera perniciosa ad Salutem*. For mine own part I have, I confess, some reason, perhaps particular to my self, to be dissident of mine own *Moral Accomplishments*, and therefore may be the more inclinable to think I have a necessity of some extraordinary assistance to sway the weakness of my belief, and to strengthen me in good Duties. If you be stronger, I am glad of it; and let every Man, after he has read and considered what we have of it in the Scripture, and what even in our Common-Prayer Book, take what course and opinion he thinks the safest. But this Controversie is of so high a nature that it overthrows your Maxime, that *all things disputable are little*: and the matter is so serious that it is not fit for you and me to treat of it in such a mixed and perfunctory Stile. You have already been answer'd upon this Subject by one, who at least rivals you

you in the Knowledg and Practice either of  
Grace or Morality. And as

Rep. p. 53. to your challenge to all the  
World to produce any ancient

Writer that has understood this matter otherwise  
then you have done ; if you will but have a

little patience, I am told that it will be ac-  
cepted and complied with. Therefore I

shall not at present oblige my self further to  
this dispute : and indeed, though what I

could say might perhaps add not much  
weight or moment to the better understand-

ing of it, yet neither on the other side do I  
think you a fit man to be discoursed with of

such matters. For to what purpose should  
I make a secret of that which you make it

your business to divulge & propagate among  
all, but especially female, Companies ? Are

not you the same person that says, of all things  
in the World you would not make your Son a

Preacher ? 'Twas seasonably and timely con-  
sidered ; For 'tis better being drunk twice then

making one Sermon. Do not you inveigh a-  
gainst the drudgery of that Sacred Office, to

which nevertheless you have so many titles ?  
But yet you say, you can indure it pretty well,

and it goes pleasantly off when you have a  
company of hands in young Women for your Au-

ditory ? but the old Fades do quite disgust you,  
and

and they are mobled up like so many Judges. Are not you he that thinks it below your Dignity to step down to the Private Prayers in the family; and that, an honest Gentleman of your old acquaintance lodging with you in your chamber, left him to his Devotions, and told him you had in the mean while spent your time to as good purpose in reading of *Plutarch*? Do not you jeer the Women when they are serious and tell them; *You are troubled with sin I warrant you: 'tis nothing but some fond scruple the Minister has put into your head; let them learn of you, for you your self have not sinn'd this quarter of a year?* Is it not you that entertain them with a leading Narrative, of a certain Lady that stray'd up into your Chamber, where you drunk her up to such an height till you had drunk her down, and lay'd her upon your bed till you had recover'd her? You told a Lady of better quality; that, in case Popery were introduced, you would be one of the first to comply with it. What must others then do, think you, after your so illustrious example? Is not this, think you, very edifying Doctrine for the *White Aprons*? Yet, I assure you, I would not have told you of it, but that I have very good Authority for't. In the mean time therefore, if you will take my advice

advice, do not you-intermeddle further in this dispute, but make friends as soon as you can both with Grace and Virtue : for, how inconsiderable soever you may imagine them at present, you may at some time or other stand in need of both their assistance. You draw into this brangle too reverend Master Hooker, though he is unconcerned in it, and you use his name continually as a piece of Inchantment only, that you understand not. For I have Commission to tell you that you said in good Company, *Hang Mr. Hooker's Ecclesiastical Politie; it was a long-winded Book, and you never had the patience to read it; but it was no matter, you would alwayes upbraid the Nonconformists with him, for you knew the Rogues had not read it neither.* And truly this is your usual practice and ingenuity as to other Authors.

The fourth thing, which I transiently objected to you, was your asserting that it was necessary to punish men more severely for their Errors in Religious Perswasions, then for their Immortalities and Debaucheries : and upon this therefore you greedily fix, pretending to some advantage. You say, *That I have exhibited so foul a charge against you, without referring so much as to one passage*



passage of yours to make it good, and that  
 therefore I prove nothing at all, but that I  
 have a bold face and a foul mouth; For We  
 all know, you say, (What We are you? I  
 doubt you stand single, and no man else will  
 vouch for you) that you are not unskilful in  
 improving the smallest and most inconsiderable  
 advantages, that had you been furnish'd with  
 any shadow of proof, you would not have smother'd it, &c. Really I began upon this  
 your confidence to misdoubt my self, being  
 very willing to believe that you had some  
 reliques of Honesty, especially in a matter  
 that would be manifest and evident to all  
 men that would have recourse to my former Book. Hereupon I went to it my self.  
 There I found: Having thus  
 enabled the Prince, dispensed *Reb. Tr. p.*  
 with Conscience, and fitted up a Moral Religion for *100, &c 101.*  
 that Conscience; to show how much those Moral  
 Vertues are to be valued, p. 53. of his  
 Preface to the Ecclesiastical Politie, he affirms  
 that it is absolutely necessary to the Peace and  
 Happiness of Kingdoms, that there be set up  
 a more severe Government over mens Consciences,  
 and religious Perswasions, than over their  
 Vices and Immoralities: and p. 55. of the  
 same, That Princes may with less hazard  
 give

give liberty to mens *Vices* and *Debaucheries* than their *Consciences*. Then

Reb. Tr. p. 102. again I find that I have quoted you, speaking of honest and well-meaning men, to

have said; *So easie is it for men to deserve to be punished for their Consciences, that there is no Nation in the World in which were Government rightly understood, and duly managed, mistakes and abuses of Religion would not supply the Gallies with vastly greater numbers than Villany;* For that I cited your p. 223. and I immediately add, p. 44. of the *Ecclesiastical Politie*, he saith, *Of all Villains the well-meaning Zealot is the most dangerous.* Do I not by all this so

Reb. Tr. p. 119. much as refer to one passage of yours? And again, under the title of *Debauchery Tolerated*,

(forasmuch as you advise in that p. 55. rather to tolerate that than Conscience) I refer in my p. 119. which is no great distance, to the very same Passages. And it had been needless to cite any more, your Book being full and crawling all over with such expressions. And further (for having been desirous you should take notice of it, I have reminded you in several places) I find I have

have objected the same to you,  
 and that you are contented the *Reb. Tr. p.*  
*Nonconformists should be exposed* 125, & 126.  
 to the Pillories, Whipping-Posts,  
 Gallies, Rods and Axes; and moreover and  
 above, to all other Punishments whatsoever,  
 provided they be of a severer nature  
 than those that are inflicted on men for their  
 Immoralities, &c. So that although a man  
 should be guilty of all these heinous Enormi-  
 ties, not to be named among Christians, beside  
 all lesser Peccadillo's expressly against the Ten  
 Commandments, or such other part of the  
 Divine Law, as shall be of the Magistrates  
 making, he shall be in a better condition, and  
 more gently handled, than a well-meaning  
 Zealot. Is here again no Reference, so much  
 as to one passage, no shadow of proof?  
 Gentle Reader, What shall we do with this  
 Man, that puts us continually upon such  
 tedious tasks in things so notorious? And  
 you, Mr. Bayes, in what a miserable case  
 are you, so distracted, that you know nei-  
 ther what to do, nor what you do! Where-  
 as I told you there was a Maxime esta-  
 blished for one sort of men, That 'tis ne-  
 cessary they should have good Memories.  
 Yet such is my fate to have to do with  
 such a man all along and thorow; inasmuch  
 that,

that, though I am no forward Undertaker, I think I can manifest to you when you are at liesure, that in the *Reproof* (a book but of 528 pages) you are guilty of at least a thousand Falshoods : therefore I hope men will not be too forward to be imposed upon by you. But for my self, I am therefore so little moved with all the aspersions and ill language wherewith you have fraught your discourse, that I can only say

*C.Pl.Pb.p.1.* your Tongue is not made of  
Eone: or that, whatever other  
Slave you be, which your self owned, you  
are not, (that I may suit you with a Cardi-  
nals phrase) a Slave of your word. Whereas,  
next after this *Tentamen* of your varacity

*Rep. p.70* you taxt me for saying, 'Tis  
*demonstrable that for one War*  
*upon a Fanatick or Religious*  
*account, there have been an hundred occasioned*  
*by the thirst and glory of Empire ; and more*  
*have sprung from the contentiousness and ambi-*  
*tion of some of the Clergy : to give no less Es-*  
say of your Candor, you fall on turning  
and resting that, quite forgetting what fol-  
lows, and was direct to the matter in hand ;

*but the most of all from the cor-*  
*Reb. Tr. p.* *ruption of manners, and al-*  
*waies fatal Debauchery. But*  
*122.* *how-*

however you say, if this were true, 'tis lamentable impertinent; for all the Wars that do concern our present debate, are *Rebellions* and not *Invasions*. Who told you that? But 'tis probable *Rebellions* as well as *Invasions* have sprung from the same turbulence. I for my part left it applicable either way, and therefore, if it will do you any service, you may if you please add *Rebellions* too into the Scale, and I will submit it to be weighed by the Reader. And whereas you would confound my terms, as if it were all one, a War upon a Fanatick or Religious account, and a War *Rep. p. 70.* from the Contentiousness and ambition of the Clergy; I suppose few that read it, besides your self, but will perceive that the Religious or Fanaticks are directly opposed there, and distinguished from the predominant Clergy. But as to your business of *Algebra*, and your computation of an hundred Wars, or an hundred and one, it is I confess very ingenious: 'tis worth my quoting; if an hundred have been occasioned by thirst and glory of Empire, then if more by the ambition and contentiousness of the Clergy, there have been at least an hundred and

- and one of the last. As to this,  
*Ec. Pol. p.* be pleased to read that pas-  
 215. sage in your *Ecclesiastical Po-*  
*litie*, where you say; *it is easie*  
*for one Commonwealth that has gained by Re-*  
*bellion, to produce an hundred that it has ha-*  
*zarded, if not utterly ruined.* If you will  
 first name me an hundred Commonwealths,  
 I will joyn issue with you: and I will drop  
 Clergy against Commonwealth, till one of  
 us come at the end of our reckoning. You  
 then cite me for having said on occasion of  
 your greater rigour against Nonconformity  
 then Debauchery, *that com-*  
*Rep. p. 71.* *parisons of Vice are dangerous;*  
 which jumps, you say, with  
 as wise a Paradox of the Stoicks, *that all Crimes*  
*are equal:* This of yours is a very strong  
 consequence, and if it will hold I ask your  
 pardon, for I assure you I did not intend it  
 so. But, however, you can wring this a-  
 gainst my known meaning, that of the Sto-  
 icks suits much better with a passage of your  
 own formerly quoted; *that*  
*Rep. p. 34.* *all Laws Civil as well as Ec-*  
*clesiastical equally oblige the*  
*Conscience.* If they equally oblige the Con-  
 science, a common understanding would  
 think

think that all Crimes are Equal. But as to the Hinge of the Controversie; that is, the danger to the publick, you affirming, that *Debauchery or Immorality rarely proves so dangerous, as either serious or affected pretences of Religion*: (pity it were that serious pretences should prove so.) Take but out at adventure any one Kingdom for instance, and work your Question upon it, I suppose you will find the contrary: But I know upon what ground and reason principally you maintain this Maxime. It is from your hatred and fear of Reformation; wherein you tread in the very foot-steps of Doctor *Heylin* and some others, who have deliberately applied themselves to vilifie, and make odious the Foreign, and even the *English* Reformation, than which they could not have invented any thing more obliging to the *Romish* Church, and meritorious. For the Foreign Reformation was indeed wrought out of the Fire, and increased in those other Countries either by the Wars and Persecutions stirred up against it, or else did it self draw the Sword in defence of the just Civil Liberties (for it seldom can happen but that Tyranny in Religion introduces it self by an Invasion of Propriety.)

And

And therefore it was that our several Princes, and particularly King *James*, (who was conscientious and knowing as any man in that point) have ingaged both their Sword and Pens, both Reason of State and of Religion, not only their Publick but their Private Conscience in that quarrel: And if there must alwayes be Wars, I know no Cause more justifiable, nor any Design which were in Prudence more fitting to be still Prosecuted and Continued. Divers also of our Bishops, and eminentest Men in our Church, have appeared in the justifying of the Foreign Reformation. For otherwise, though Ours was indeed brought about something more peaceably, the Church of *Rome*, if we should single out our selves from other Protestants, would have found us more weak, if not more pliable, and might urge the same, if not stronger and more efficacious Arguments against us. But you may at this rate of *the danger of serious pretences of Religion*, say in your usual confidence, that, whosoever our Princes were, and throw in King *James* too, and King *Charles*, and Parliaments, Bishops, and Convocations and all, you must and will declare that *they were miserably out in their Divinity*. And upon the same Reason



Reason and Apprehension it is, that you would be thus severe at home, and do raise this out-cry against Non-conformity in ballance to Debauchery ; that you may thereby quench the good inclination of my Lords the Bishops, either as to a revival of themselves, or moderation toward others ; incense his Majesty against so estimable a part of his People ; infuriate and inviperate the Nation against peaceable Dissenters ; and all to amuse men from observing, or to perswade them into the protecting of your own Irregularities. Hence it is that you say ; *Tender Con-* E.P.p.227  
*sciences, instead of being complied with, must be restrained with more peremptory and unyielding rigour, then naked and unsanctified Villany.* Hence ; E.P.p.18.  
*If Governours would consider seriously, into what exorbitancies peevish and untoward Principles about Religion naturally improve themselves, they could not but perceive it to be as much their Concernment to punish them with the severest Inflictions, as any whatsoever Principles of Rebellion in the State.* Nay, once you appeal to Governours themselves, *Ibid.*  
 (which is an extraordinary piece of civility in you) to judge whether it does not concern  
 them,

them, with as much vigilance and severity, either to prevent their Rise, or suppress their Growth, as to punish any the foulest Crimes of Immorality. 'Tis something like the Story of *Gondomar*, this, who from the example of a Mother that whip'd her Girl before-hand, lest she should break the Pitcher, argued that *Sir Walter Rawleighs* Head should be cut off before he went to *Guiana*. Indeed it is the very wisdom of *Herod*, who, lest there should a King be born among them, Massacred all the Children at *Bethlehem*. So they must be prevented, or so suppressed. As (and more then) any the foulest Immorality, as (and more then) any Principles of Rebellion. So here is a Law, That not to kneel at the Lord's Supper, shall be more Penal than Murther; not to wear a Surplice, more Criminal than Adultery; and to omit the Cross in Baptism, less Pardonable than Perjury. If this were once, as you would have it, Enacted, and that the whole Conventicle should forfeit their Lives and Estates, as in other cases of Treason; Do you think that God has annexed the same Penalties too here to Disobedience to Man's Laws as his own? You have already thrown in *Queen and Convocation and all*: But, if you

you will maintain this Maxime, you must too throw in our Savionr and Apostles and all, and *declare, That they are no less miserably out in their Divinity.* But you imagine doubtless, and do not a little applaud your self for the Invention; that by the Doctrine of punishing Non-conformity more severely than the foulest Immorality, you have made your self the Head of a Party, and a World of People will clutter henceforward to shelter themselves under the Wing of your Patronage. I confess it is a great and brave undertaking, and which, I believe, none ever managed before, nor will be so hardy as to take it up again for the future; Let it be Ingraven on your Tomb. But perhaps nevertheless you may fail in your account, and, though you reckon your Function to be a Drudgery, and do in your Printed books debase, as much as you dare, the value of the Bible under the scornful name of *the English Bible*; and not only Satyrize the Non-conformists Sermons, but traduce all Preaching, and make it seem unnecessary, that so the Liturgy might be sufficient for Salvation; I believe you will find very few that will come up to you. For whether it be the Laity, there are not many of them such Libertines but they would be glad to

M

learn

learn better, and once a Week to be told of their faults by an exemplary Teacher. And though you brave it like a Landlord, and that the *Clergy* are possess'd by a good right of their revenue as any *Seculars* (only it were to be wished that Benefices were hereditary) they have a rustick kind of opinion that you ought to do something for't, and that, whereas you have the Tythe of their labour, they should have the whole of yours. This perhaps you think unreasonable: but they think too worse, that you may well abide to give them good example; forasmuch as you are payed for living soberly and honestly among them, whereas they must be good at their own expence. And this is and hath been always their Clownish humour, that they may see something for their Money: neither are any almost so debauched that they will grudge their dues to a grave learned and pious Minister; but most think for such an one nothing is too much, and for the contrary nothing too little. This you think hard dealing here in *Rep. p. 339.* your *Reproof*, and yet I assure you there it pinches. And moreover, though you would pretend never so much to be the Landlord of your Living,

if

if you do not behave your self there as you should do, I think there is a very legal way to develt you of your Propriety, and there is a Trust reposed in some Persons to look to your manners. Neither on the other side are the Clergy so generally depraved that they need fly to you for Sanctuary: and I know many of them that con you little thank for so scandalous a Doctrine. For those of them indeed that are among them debauched and immoral, there could not any thing more inveagling or more seasonable have been calculated. You have gained your self immortal renown, and how they chuckle and hug themselves and you for the invention. *It is a Crime in a*  
*Clergyman to be happy, nay to* Rep.p.335.  
*be a man. And if he will but*  
*be unkind and uncivil to himself, they will*  
*love him for that if for nothing else.* There spoke an Arch-Deacon! But you should not serve your self in such occasions of so equivocal and applicable expressions, lest ill use should be made of them beyond your intention. Who can tell whether the good Doctor at York last Shrove-Tuesday were unkind and uncivil to himself? Your Curate of Ickham, when he laid with his Maid,

whether was not he kind to himself? And even you when you dissolved that precious Lady in good Sack at your Chamber, were not you kind to your self? And when you first got your *Dull and lazy Distemper*, were not you unkind to your self? Men are too prone to expound such passages to their own Inclinations: and some *Wag* may chance to write an History of the Clergies Kindnesses to themselves, and their Unkindnesses. Therefore let me request you, Mr. *Bayes*, the next time to define, how that Word *unkind to himself*, or *uncivil to himself* is to be understood properly for the future. But in good earnest, were it not for some that are unkind to themselves, you and your fellows would soon forfeit all the Clergies Reputation. But of all your Freaks upon this Subject of punishing Non-conformity beyond the foulest Immorality, there is none so capricious as the Declaration which you have without any occasion administered on my part, and with a boldness beyond all precedent drawn up in his Majesties name. Yet seeing you are here so obligingly courteous to me as to promise me your License and the Liberty of the Press in these words p. 67. of your *Reproof*, thus: *If you, or he, or any Body*  
*else*.

else have ought to object against it, you know  
 the Press is open, do your worst: I accept  
 the favour, and seeing your Declaration, I  
 doubt, hath not so well been taken notice of,  
 for want of the Character in which such  
 Publick matters ought to be promulged, I  
 have in return of your Civility prevailed  
 with my Printer to do you a cast of his Of-  
 fice.

M 3

By

By the *Arch-Deacon*.

# A DECLARATION

For the TOLERATING

OF

# DEBAUCHERY.

BAYES R.

Repr.  
p. 64.

**W**Hence ever since our happy Restoration, we have, out of our special zeal and care for the Interest and security of the Church of England executed with all severity all penal Laws against whatsoever sort of Nonconformists and Recusants; but yet finding, by the sad experience of 12 years, how ineffectual all forcible courses are either to reduce or restrain Dissenters; We think our self obliged to make use of that unhoopable Power, that is naturally inherent in us, not granted



ted by Christ, but belonging to us and our  
 Predecessors under the broad Seal of Au-  
 thority, next and immediately before him. By  
 virtue whereof we have and claim an ab-  
 solute dominion, not only over the Con-  
 sciences of all our Subjects, but over all  
 the Laws of God and Man, so as to re-  
 peal or dispense with their Obligation, as  
 shall from time to time seem good to our  
 Royal Will and Pleasure. And there-  
 fore that we may obviate and prevent those  
 mischiefs that are likely to befall our King-  
 dom from the subtiety and demerits of  
 the Anticonformists; our Will and Plea-  
 sure is, to give a free and uncontrollable  
 Licence to all manner of Vice and De-  
 bauchery; and of our Princely Grace and  
 Favour we release to all our Loving Sub-  
 jects the Obligation of the Ten Com-  
 mandments, and all Laws of God, and  
 Statutes of this Realm, whatsoever con-  
 trary to the Contents of this our Declara-  
 tion: And we require of all Judges, Ju-  
 stices, and other Officers whatsoever, that  
 the execution of all manner of Penalties,  
 annexed to the Laws aforesaid, whether by  
 Whippings, Whipping-posts, Gallies,  
 Rods or *&c.* be immediately su-  
 spended, and they are hereby suspended.

From whence we hope, by the Blessing  
 of God, to give some check and stay to  
 the Insolence of Fanatick Spirits, and by  
 debauching our good People out of all ten-  
 derness of Conscience, to free our King-  
 doms from those great and grievous In-  
 conveniences, wherewith they perpetually of-  
 fend our Government, and at last bring  
 back all the advantages of peace and good  
 fellowship, both to our Self and all our  
 loving Subjects, &c.

Given at Our Arch-Diaconal Court,  
 the first day of May, 1673.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

And ——— the Inventor.

---

L O N D O N,

Printed for James Collins, at the Kings Arms  
 in Ludgate-street, 1673.

The

The thing, Mr. *Bayes*, is very Judiciously drawn up by you : only I am surprized thus to see it conclude with an, &c. For it is true that I have heard in the former times of the *Etcetera* Oath, and there was another Dignitary, who like you penn'd Declarations; yet I never saw before an *Etcetera* Declaration. But I cannot comprehend by what License from his Majesty, or upon what occasion from me you have publish'd so daringly this Paper. For if you have any conceal'd criticism upon those words, *Debauchery Tolerated*, I explain'd what I meant by what I quoted out of you, and accused you no further than what those words signified and Imported. And the Fact stood thus. His Majesty before his happy return transmitted hither a Gracious Declaration concerning Liberty to Tender Consciences, and hath ever since pursued it. You, on the contrary, declare p. 55. before quoted, and in many passages the same, *That Princes may with less hazard give Liberty to men's Vices and Debaucheries than to their Consciences*. But a Toleration or Indulgence to Conscience has been thought advisable. Do not you then maintain that a Liberty to Vice and Debauchery was the more advisable of the two? And was not this enough

to charge you in the terms of *Debauchery* *cor-  
 rupted*? But as for his Majesty, he had suf-  
 ficiently manifested his judgment both of  
 the one and the other by a Declaration of  
 Indulgence to tender Consciences, and by  
 a Proclamation against *Debauchery*; so  
 that you had little reason to raise so mala-  
 part an allusion, and profane his name in a  
 Mock-declaration, which indeed is your  
 own and no mans else, and is not unsuit-  
 able to your Principles and Practice. Yet  
 whatsoever mischief you intended by it, (for  
 some you intend always) I am perswaded  
 you were partly transported by the Orna-  
 ment that you thought it would be to your  
 Book; Nay, I do not think but you took it  
 for a great piece of Wit, so great, that for  
 its sake and two or three Speeches that you  
 make for the Parliament men, you writ  
 the whole Book; or else I had scaped both  
*Reproof* and *Correction*. But because I have  
 observed how careful you are to find out,  
 before you attempt a great jump of wit,  
 some convenient Rise, and you would not  
 doubtless have penn'd so notable a Declara-  
 tion without some Precedent; I cast about  
 where to meet with it, and after a little sear-  
 ching, I found this in the *Cæsares Juliani*,  
 where that Emperour having undertaken

to Marshal his Predecessors under the Patronage of some proper Deity, when he comes to Constantine does thus Satyrically represent him. But Constantine not being able among all the Gods to find a Patern of his own Life, casting his eye about saw the Goddess of Luxury near him, and straight ran to her. She hereupon receiving him delicately and embracing him, trick'd him up in Womans cloaths, and conducted him to the Goddess of Intemperance, finding his Son returned, and making to all Men this publick Proclamation.

Let all Men take notice, of whatsoever condition and quality, whether they be Adulterers, or Murderers, or guilty of any other Immorality, Vice, or Debauchery, that hereby they are warranted and invited to continue boldly and confidently in the same, and I declare that upon dipping themselves only in this Water, they are, and shall be so reputed, pure and blameless to all intents and purposes. And moreover, as oft as they shall renew and frequent such other Vices, Immoralities or Debaucheries; I do hereby give and grant to them and every one of them, respectively, that by thumping his Breast, or giving but himself a pat on the Forehead, he shall thereupon be immediately discharged and absolved of all guilt and penalty therefore incurred, any

Law

*Law or Statute to the contrary notwithstanding.*

This is in the 99th Page of that Book, Printed at Paris 1583. to prevent any such accident for the future as that of the Epistle to *Marcellinus*; for I am sensible of the great trouble I thereby gave you, though you have it recompensed by the great reputation you have acquired by your learned criticisms upon it. But good Mr. Bayes, surely you were hard set, that you had nobody here to go to but *Julian the Apostate* for an Invention. Or however, if you had contracted some acquaintance or similitude with him, you could not have pick'd out a more unhappy instance for your imitation than this present. For, as he in this Proclamation ingratefully derides *Constantine*, so do you traduce his Majesty by your Declaration, which deserves to perish with your Book: whereas he by his Proclamation against Debauchery hath sufficiently testified his judgment, and, as he hath resembled *Constantine* in his patience and industry toward composing (howsoever obstructed) the Ecclesiastical differences among us, so in his Largess and Munificence to the Church hath far exceeded him.

And this leads me directly to your fifth Play,

Play, Mr. Bayes, of *Persecution recommended*: though I might perhaps more properly have call'd it a *Spectacle*, and exceeding whatsoever was exhibited at any time among the *Romans*, for cruelty.

I had hereupon said, that, *Julian* Repr. p. 73. himself who was first a Reader and beld forth in the *Christian Church* Reb. Tr. p. ches, before he turn'd *Apostate*, 124. and then *Persecutor*, could not

have outdone you either in *Irony* or *Cruelty*: and for the truth of that I refer to your whole *Ecclesiastical Policy*. You return me in answer to this passage; (for in my whole Book I have but this once mention'd him)

you bring the *Emperour Julian* upon the Stage as a more cruel Repr. p. 73. and execrable Monster of *Perse-*

cution than *Antichrist* or the *Dragon* himself, and you throw your staver upon him with so much scorn and rudeness, that the People take him for as very a rake-shame as *Bishop Bonner*, or *Pope Hildebrand*. You are very Gentle, Mr. Bayes, and good-natured to extremity; which makes me the more wonder at this transport: for in your whole Book there are not above one or two like instances and you have embraced no mans quarrel with more concernment and vehemency.

There

There must be something extraordinary in it. Had I then known that he was so old an acquaintance of yours as I since find in your *Platonick Philosophy*, or had I imagined that he was so near of kin to you, and one of your *Dearest Cuzzes*, I should perhaps, according to the rules of conversation, have spoke of him with more respect; but however I am cautioned sufficiently for the future. Especially seeing he has so ample Testimonial from you, *that he was a very civil Person, a great Virtuoso, and though somewhat beathenishly inclined, yet he had nothing of a persecuting Spirit in him against Christians, as may be seen at large in Ammianus Marcel. l. 22.* And you add immediately; *unless you will suppose, as he did, that there is no such effectual way of persecuting an established Church, as by suspending all Ecclesiastical proceedings against Schismatics and Hereticks, and granting an unlimited, Universal Toleration.* I do not suppose it, but you do; and it is one of the greatest arguments in your *Ecclesiastical Politie* against Toleration or indulgence. Therefore let us see what your *Ammianus* saith, *But when Julian observed that he was now free*  
*Am. l. 22. p. 225.* *to do what he would, he reveal'd his secret design, and*  
*by*



by plain and absolute Edicts, commanded that the Temples should be open'd, Sacrifices offer'd, and the Worship of the Gods restored: and to strengthen the effect of what he had propos'd to himself, he therefore call'd the Christian Bishops that were at odds with one another, and their divided people together into his Palace, admonishing them that laying aside their intestine quarrels, every one should boldly exercise without all disturbance his own Religion; which he therefore did, that this Liberty increasing their dissensions, he might be secured thenceforward against the unanimating of the Christian people. For he had found by experience, that no Beasts were so cruel against man, as Christians for the most part are inveterate against one another. So it was then, and so you would still have it. But what have you yet gain'd by this Author? Under his Toleration they grew to a better understanding and Union; under his persecution they cemented still closer; and so it will always probably succeed: whereas, in the former flourishing times, the Church was so miserably rent by the factions and contests of the then Bishops; and so was Julian's experiment, and so I hope will all others of that kind be, frustrated.

But

But further, does not your *Ammianus* tell you of a most inhumane Edict, and in respect to Julian's memory fit to be buried in perpetual silence, *Am. l. 25. p. 316. & l. 22. p. 239.* That no Grammarian or Rhetorician should presume to teach any Christian. This

he twice mentions with the same remark. Does he not tell you that *Apollo's Temple at Antiochia* being burnt down, whether by chance and *Asclepiades* the heathen Philosophers candle, or otherwise, be upon meer suspicion caus'd the Christians to be questioned and tormented more severely than usual, and commanded their great Church at Antioch to be shut up thence-

*Am. l. 22. p. 257.* forward. He saith too, that Julian left behind him there a turbulent and cruel Governour

on purpose, affirming that he was not worthy of the Place, but the People deserved to be so handled; So that this Author makes as much herein against your great *Virtuoso*, as could be expected from one that was no Christian, and in *Julian's Service*.

Let this therefore serve as a return to you for my fifth *ad Marcellinum*, on which you spend so many pages; for this is your *Fifth Fly*, you know, and this is your *Marcelli-*

*nus* : Only you have made him but *Marcel*,  
 and have, out of a certain instinct, nibbled  
 off the end of him, lest he should at any  
 time fly in your face. But if upon occasion  
 of this *Marcellinus* you had here too re-  
 membered St. *Austin* 18<sup>th</sup> *de Civitate Dei*,  
 you might have been better informed con-  
 cerning your *Julian*. Or, if you will not  
 admit him, would you but have given as  
 much credit to *Gregory Nazianzen*, or to  
*Chrysostome*, and *Nellarius*, and all the Ec-  
 clestiaistical Writers of that time, as to *Am-  
 mianus Marcellinus* an Heathen Souldier,  
 you could not sure have had so good an o-  
 pinion of him. I have upon this occasion  
 from you, made a Collection, whereby to  
 manifest that during his short reign; there  
 was by his means, and under his authority,  
 as great, if not greater, ravage and cruel-  
 ty exercised than in any of the former Per-  
 secutions: but I will not so far gratifie  
 your ignorance or your falshood. You perhaps,  
 because his is not reckoned among the Ten  
 Persecutions, thought there had been no  
 more; neither in his time, nor Pope *Hilde-  
 brands*, nor Bishop *Bonniers*, nor since. But  
 I have truly a better esteem of your reading,  
 and that all this comes from that good in-  
 clination you have to such matters; so that  
 you

you either sneer them off at the end of your Nose as old impertinent Stories, to jeer out our credulity; or do openly aver a known falshood in defence of *Julian*, for whom you have so great a friendship, and whose actions you approve of. But no man will think the better of your cause, for your justifying it by Panegyricks of *Julian the Apostate*, and *Cardinal Granvel*. The ripping up of Bellies, and tearing of mens Bowels; the whipping of Virgins, digging out their Eyes, pulling forth their Teeth, cutting off Hands and Tongues, breaking of Legs, boyling of Men in Caldrons, grilling them on Gridirons, roasting them on Spits, fricassing them in Frying-pans, were but a small part of the Felicities of *Julians* Empire, *that Virtuoso*, and *who had nothing of a persecuting Spirit against Christians*. He was, I see, an excellent Cook for your Palate: and what Ragoists had here been for you to have furnish'd the *Mazarines* on your Table! you that can relish nothing less than Pillories, Whipping-posts, Gallies, Rods and Axes. 'Tis true nevertheless, that I find not any Edict of his against Christians: for his malice solaced it self in a more subtle way, by interpreting an old Statute about the viola-

ting

ring of Temples; and under colour of that he proceeded against them, and caused them either to abjure their Faith, or quit their Estates; and if they chose the last, he subjected them notwithstanding to Death, and the most exquisite torments. Truly, Mr. Bayes, you have a very notable face, and many men I meet very like you. *Caligula* before, how great a resemblance was there betwixt you? And now *Julian*, one would almost swear you were spit out of his Mouth. He set up a Nick-name for the Christians, to mark them out to be knock'd o'th' head: So do you give the Nonconformists the name of Fanaticks, as he them of *Galileans*; but the great *Galilean* was too hard for him. Pray Sir, who are these Fanaticks? Most of them, I assure you, better men than your self, of truer Principles than you are, and more conformable to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*: only you by the advantage of some Knick-knacks, have got the Ascendent over them, and left them in the lurch; so that now you have the priviledg to miscale, abuse, and triumph over them at your pleasure. And above all, the Pestilence of *Julians* wit and yours is incomparable, but betwixt you, there is not any more visible Token of a mean

mean Spirit, than to taunt and scoff at those in Affliction, and for a Man, by virulent jeers to exasperate and impoyson the wounds of his own giving. Such words are like chaw'd Bullets; and as if it were not sufficient to shoot thorow, you invenom them with your Spittle. Neither is any torment to an ingenious mind so sensible as to be so insulted over, and for him that undertakes to be their Judg, to pelt them with such expressions of malice, as the condemned themselves, in *Curia egressu*, would not have used, though it were their priviledg. There is a certain civility due to such as suffer, and to bruise a broken Reed is inhumane. Nevertheless such was *Julians* practice; and when he seized the Estates of the Christians, it was, he said, but to discharge them of this worldly pelf, that being quit of such Baggage, they might march on to Heaven with better expedition. When he tormented them, he was not only a Reader, but a Preacher, and instructed them that it was their part only to be Patient under Affliction, for so *Christ* their King had commanded them. And you in like manner point out the wealthy Fanaticks to the Magistrate as ungovernable Creatures; mark forth an hundred *Systematical*

*Rat-Pastorin-Shop-Divines* for the publick vengeance; laugh at the calamities of the City when in ashes; interdict and embargo all Traffick till the Ceremonies be complied with; and smile at some that would be thought wonderfully grave and solemn Statesmen, who labour with mighty projects of Trade and Manufacture, while those things which you your self allow to be perhaps of no great use to the Commonwealth, are not submitted to. You tell a man, that if he has not a good Conscience, yet he has a brazen Wall; That there is little difference betwixt a soft Head and a tender Conscience, That weakness of Conscience alwayes proceeds in some measure from want of wit: Therefore that men should actively obey at all adventures, because they have the publick Wisdom to warrant them, and their own Folly to excuse them: You call the Scrupulous Dissenters so many old Boys, and would have them lash'd out of their perverseness. But why do I reproach you with these things, which I am perswaded, nay certain, that you take for an honour? I oblige you by the very repetition, and you clap and crow at the Wit and Malice of your Expressions. So some men find a second entertainment in the favourinels of their own Belches. Therefore I will not further gratifie you herein, or nauseate

nauseate the Reader: Your whole Book of Ecclesiastical Politie having been writ, not with a Pen but a Stiletto, and with an intention so un-Theological, that the Writer might not unjustly be tryed upon the Statute for stabbing. Methinks I discern now what secret impulse directed you in your learned Exercitations concerning *Timinnabulum* and *Clangor*; though you knew it not, but your Bell like that in Spain, which forebodes no good, tinkled of its own accord, and rung it self backward. You are indeed a meer *Timinnabulum* your self; and, if with your leave I may transfer the Expression, though you spoke with the tongues of Men and Angels, not having charity, you are become as sounding Brass, or a tinkling Cymbal. But whereas you are of a dimension small enough to hang in the Ear of an Hobby-Horse, yet you raise a noise and *Clangor* like the *Stentoro-Pbonick*; sounding the Trumpet of War, and ringing the *Tocsain* of Persecution. Insomuch, that, not content to have Press'd and Muster'd up all the Princes of Christendom in your Service, you raise too the Ecclesiastical *Milizia*; and the Train-bands of the Church in your Quarrel. When mens Consciences, you say, are so squeamish, or so humorous, as that they



they will rise against the Customs and Injun-  
 ctions of the Church they live in, She Must  
 scourge them into order, and chastise them,  
 not so much for their fond perswasion, as for  
 their troublesom peevishness. You will teach  
 her to be a very Shrew if she will take your  
 counsel. Was it not enough that *He must*,  
 and *They must*, but *She must* too? Suppose  
 She has not a mind, and that She will not  
 suffer you to wear the Breeches. You could  
 have said no more to Her, had She been your  
*Comfortable Importance*. Really, if you be  
 so masterful in the Church, I doubt you will  
 learn to play teaks at home. But if She find  
 Her self not well, or not well used, I would  
 advise Her to appeal to *Julian*; for he made  
 a Law, That Women married should have  
 liberty to divorce themselves from their  
 Husbands.

I have thus far instanced, that though you  
 are not so great a Conjuror as *Julian*, yet it  
 is not your fault if you have not been as se-  
 vere a Persecutor. I come now to your sixth  
 and last Play of *Push-pin Divinity*. For, as in  
 all other things, so in this too you tread on  
*Mr. Bayes* his heels: *Who, where-*  
*as every one makes five Acts to one* *Reb. Com.*  
*Play, what does Me he, but make* *F. 33.*  
*five Player to one Plot; by which*

means

means the Auditors have every day a new thing; and then upon Saturday, to make a close of all, (for he ever begins upon a Monday) he makes you up a sixth Play, that sums up the whole matter to them, and all that for fear they should have forgot it; only you too have a seventh Play for Sunday. So do you here recapitulate all your former profaneness, with some additions, pretending to represent the Nonconformists Divinity. The Expressions are your own, *Whether Conversion be perform'd in an instant, or whether it be divided into several Acts and Scenes?* As first, *The Work of Vocation is the Prologue.* Secondly, *This Vocation infuseth Faith,* only say some; but *Faith and Repentance* say others; and then, *Thirdly, this Faith must be Acted;* so that it seems Believers may have Faith before they act it, i. e. they may believe before they believe. *Fourthly, By this Act we apprehend Christ's Person,* and by this apprehension we are united to him. *Fifthly, From this Union proceed the Benefits, first of Justification, then of Sanctification, &c.* These are I perceive what you call the Scholastick Nothings of Faith and Justification. You understand nothing but the Union of Benefices: these other things you laugh at as so many, ten real differences in the same thing. And yet, if one would call

over the Muster-role of your self, he should find near as many differences; and you would have been sorry that any of them should be omitted; Fellow of the Royal Society; Doctor of Divinity, Chaplain to my Lord Archbishop, Parson of *Ickham*, Parson of *Chartbam*, Prebend of *Canterbury*, Arch-deacon of *Canterbury* &c. Yet methinks, if you be so delicate and scrupulous in a Tautology of Religion, as you pretend this to be, you ought to be eased in this Tautology of Livings and Dignities. Had you been well catechised in Bishop *Usher's Body of Divinity*; or, because you will slight him as a *Systematical Bishop*, would you but once read Mr. *Hooker's Life*, p. 17. or his Sermon of *Justification*, p. 520. you might, for his sake, if not for the Apostles, speak at least, if not think, more reverently concerning these Doctrines or Speculations.

Then you go on, *Whether the Word Sacrament have only a Moral Operation in the Conversion of a Sinner, as a Man draws an Horse to him by the sight of Provender, or a Hog after him by the rattling of Beans*; and so on till you come to, *Blessed Apostle, shouldst thou but make a visit to the Christian World, how wouldst thou stand agast to see such a vast body of*  
N Modern

*Modern Orthodox Faith framed out of thy writings, &c? How would it recover to thy memory all that gibberish in which thou wert so idly busie while thou satest at the feet of Rabbi Gamaliel? How came Saint Paul and you so well acquainted? I doubt you are not in a fit pickle to speak with him; and if he saw what you write it would recover to his memory his fighting with beasts at Ephesus. What do you tell him of Gamaliel? 'tis a wonder you tell him not too, that much Learning has made him mad. Blessed M. Bayes, that were brought up at the feet of Elizabeth Hampton, should she but make a visit to Holwell, and read those scandalous Volumes that you have written and published, she would go near, although she were bed-ridden, to kick you: did she but see that so precious a young man, of her own Education, should in this manner stir up persecution, trample under foot the Graces of Gods Spirit, cry down the observation of the Lords Day, vi-*

*Hier. p. 95. to  
p. 103.*

*Hier. p. 104.  
& 105. t. p.  
128.*

*lize and mock the English Bible; as not in every particular the Word of God, nor in any one thing the Words of the Prophets, nor of Christ, nor the Apostles; as a Book in some places erroneous, in some scarce*

scarce sense, and of dangerous consequences, &c. that you should lead men off from searching the Scriptures, dispute against the work of Preaching, and sum up the whole duty of Man ( which an excellent though unknown Writer of our Church has done at another *Hier from p. kind of rate,*) In six Bur- 262.to p.272. lesque lines of Rhime-doggrel.

By the Liturgy daily pray,  
 So pray and praise God every day;  
 The Apostles Creed believe also;  
 Do as you would be done unto;  
 Receive the Sacrament as well as you can.  
 This is the Whole Duty of Man.

And maintain that this Catch is to be pre-  
 ferr'd before all the Sermons that have been  
 preach'd for this 35 years by the Nonconfor-  
 mists, Rep.p.98. Did she but see these very  
 passages here, and how, under colour of  
 some particular Author that does not please  
 you, you run down and Baffle that serious  
 business of Regeneration, Justification, San-  
 ctification, Election, Vocation, Adoption,  
 which the Apostle *Paul* hath, beside others,  
 with so much labour illustrated and distin-  
 guish'd; and did she but perceive that you  
 have done all this and worse, only as a Horse  
 to gain Provender, or like a Hog, to procure

your self *Beans*, I dare say the good old Woman, (although she was not strait-handed to her ability) would grudge all the Oat-meal that you spent her in Grewel, and with the Skellet had boyled over.

But for your *desiring for the present, though you could be very large upon this Subject, that those who would be further satisfied in the Mystery, would repair to Pinne-makers-Hall, every Tuesday about ten a clock in the forenoon*; it is not the first Conventicle in your life-time that you have invited men to, though I suppose this now was only meant as a better direction to informers: but in return to the Wit of it, this being one of your most happy rencounters, you should have consider'd that the best part of your own *Push-pin Divinity* was fetch'd as far as from *Aberford*, a Town in *York-shire*, which subsists wholly on that Trade, and from whence you have furnish'd your self with Pins in abundance to set up with.

Thus at last, as you mock at men for *passing through so many Stages of Regeneration*, I have clamber'd as well as I could over these six Stages of your Theology. And I cannot but upon reflexion wonder, that so good a cause as that of Conformity could not be managed by better Doctrine and Argument.

gument. But certainly if any thing more material could have faln within the circuit of humane reason, or could that have been fitted up with a better stile or more polish'd language, we could not have failed of it. For you are it seems the last resort of Theological Understanding, and a man deservedly chosen out of the whole Body of the Clergy for this glorious enterprize. A man that, while I am writing these lines, is proclaim'd, even under Doctor *Tomkins* his *Imprimatur*, *Free and* by another *Mascarade-Divine*, *Impartial* to be the *Wonder of this Age*, *Enquiry*, and so you will be of the future. Give me leave therefore, *&c.p.33.* Mr. *Bayes*, to sit in the Pit and clap my hands among the Herd of your humble Admirers.

I have thus far made good my former charge against you, and submitted partly to make my self the Defendant out of my Service to the Readers, and Candor towards you, but henceforward I shall take my liberty. And now, when I look over the rest of your Book, it makes me very good sport to see you play more tricks than a Dancing Bear for the recreation of the Spectators. But you were afraid you should want com-

pany; and therefore, instead of delivering Bills about, or being usher'd through the streets by the Bear-ward and his Musick, with the usual Ceremony, you have printed a Preface to the Reader even before my Re-proof, You have no other civility to request of the Reader, than only to desire him, That if he shall think what you have written worth his perusal, to read it over with an unprejudiced mind, and an ordinary attention. Ay, pray come in, pray come in Gentlemen; You shall have the rarest sport that ever was seen: Every man for his five shillings and welcom. Whether or no a man can think it worth his perusal before he has read it over, it had been more seasonable to advise men to an ordinary frugality, & an unprejudiced Pocket. The remainder of my business here with you is only to pick up and down your Flowers of the Beargarden, But how to begin with you, or where to end, is unsearchable: for indeed there was never such a Book written, except those of your other Bayes; of which (*Reb. Com. Epilogue*) 'tis excellently said;

*If it be true that Monstrous Births presage  
The following Mischiefs that afflict the Age,  
And sad Disasters to the State proclaim;  
Plays without Head or Tail may do the same.*



The Empire of Atoms is more in order, and Chance it self has a better method. Therefore I shall be obliged to write too at adventure and sit by you, scamming off whatsoever comes uppermost, as it rises.

You had deliberately discoursed from p. 47. to p. 54. of your *Ecclesiastical Polinie*, to which I refer, against all Trade and Traffick in opposition to Non-conformity; and that, while it was not rectified, *to erect and encourage trading Combinations* ~~was~~ *only to build so many nests of Faction and Sedition*: and you had reckoned that the Non-conformists swarmed *most in great Cities and Corporations*; You had instructed men how Christ *whipped the Tradsemen out of the Temple*. Your whole Book was an Holoo to Princes and all mankind to fall upon Tender Consciences with the severest rigour, and hereupon I said *'twas some sign of the Non-conformists peaceable temper that you were not Deified*, and well I might say so.

But you hereupon are in a terrible pelt that I have animated the Rabble against you;

Rep. p. 62. &  
p. 110.

but from me you fear no other weapon but a Spanish Fig, or some more secret Italian dispatch. No, no, set your heart at rest, Mr. Bayes, the very rabble are too judicious to

meddle with *you*; and *you* need not apprehend or be jealous of any unless it be the *Cecilian* Figs, or those others which were used at the first institution of the ceremony of *il Fico*, which *your* obsequiousness would have digested, from what place soever *you* had suck'd'm.

There was another fear upon *you*, lest, having been so liberal to the Prince in Eccle-

Rep. from p. 164. to p. 180.      siastical matters, the Church should sue *you* for Dilapidations of its Power; wherein *you* have done just nothing, unless *you* had retracted the

very words and things which I have justified upon *you*, and by one word of confession *you* might have saved your self and the Reader all this labour. But your proud heart would not come down. But *the Priestly and the Imperial Power*, *you* now say, p. 178. *are both Supream in their several kinds.* The Priestly is in its kind Supream, Universal, and Uncontroulable. p. 176. Our Saviour deputed the Apostolical order or succession of Apostles in which *you* have some Interest to super intend the Affairs of the Holy Catholick Church. These may require obedience to their Constitutions, under pain of the Divine displeasure, and the lash of the Apostolical Rod.

p. 167, 168. I question it; if you will say, *Christ's* Constitutions, you say right, but yours are *Et-cetera* Constitutions. When the ex-terminating sentence is passed upon the Offenders, it smites like the Sword of an Angel, &c. It cuts a man off from all the advantages of the Communion of Saints, and of our Saviours Incarnation: and that is a Capital Execution. Is it so? But at the Rates that our Excommunications are managed, and upon consideration for what matters they are inflicted, I doubt, and by what sort of persons they are issued, that there will be every day fewer men of your opinion. And many will think, if it be but an affair of the *Day of Judgment*, that the Non-conformists may abide the Tryal. But these discourses of yours, Mr. Bayes, have been the occasion that I have read several books over, which otherwise I should never have thought of; And wondering with my self, how it was possible that such a man as you should ever come to be intrusted with the Keys, I met, in studying the point only as to your own particular, with some shrewd passages out of Arch-Bishop Cranmer, subscribed by his own hand. In the *Admission of Bishops, Parsons, Vicars, and other Priests*, there are divers comely Ceremonies and Solemnities used, which

be not of necessity, but only for good order and seemly fashion : for if they were committed without such Ceremonies, they were nevertheless truly committed. There is no more promise of God, that Grace is given in committing the Ecclesiastical Office, than it is in committing the Civil. In the Apostles time there was no appointing of Ministers, but only the uniform consent of Christian multitudes among themselves to follow the advice of such as God had most indued with the Spirit of Wisdom and Counsel. And when any were appointed or sent by the Apostles or others, the people did accept them ; not for any Supremacy, Impery, or Dominion, that the Apostles had over them, but as people ready to obey the advice of good Counsellours. The Bishops and Priests were at one time, and were not two things, but one and the same Office in the beginning of Christ's Religion. Princes and Governours may make a Priest by the Scriptures, and that by the Authority of God committed to them, and so may the People also by their Election. In the New Testament, he that is appointed to be a Bishop or a Priest, needeth no Consecration by Scripture ; for Election, or appointing thereto, is sufficient. It is not against God's Law, but contrary, they ought indeed so to do ; and there be Histories that witness, that some Christian Princes,  
and

and other Lay-men unconsecrate have done the same. They that be no Priests may Excommunicate also, if the Law allow thereunto. This from so excellent a Person, a most worthy Prelate, & most glorious Martyr, with other things of the like nature, from Authorities to you undeniable, have brought some odde thoughts into my head, how you came to be a Clergy-man, or what kind of Mungrel-creature you are: which was the reason I told you, that you for your part ought to have stood fast to your Maxime, that the Magistrate may exercise the Priesthood in his own person; though you have thought fit again in this Book to disown it. And then withal, reflecting as to your particular, who do so studiously oblige the Clergy by qualifying them for Political and Secular imployments, although there be many Constitutions (and I thought them Priviledges) against it; I begin to be of your mind, and that you are very capable of them great or small: And I acknowledg your humility, who being of so eminent parts, have not disdain'd nevertheless at first to exercise the Office of the Scavenger: In good time you may make a further progress.

Repr. p. 23. &  
22. & from  
p. 164, to p.  
180.

You

Rep.p.106.

You are offended at me for using you with so much familiarity, for you perceive that we are so intimately acquainted, as if we had either rob'd Orchards or Lampoond the Court together. You best know what you are good at, but I have had so little society with you, except in your Books, that my ignorance may be excusable. But I suppose you spoke figuratively, and by robbing of Orchards, you understood Baldwins Garden; and by Lampooning the Court, you meant three-Crane-Court; and you might have enlarged with Bonds Stables and the Pall-mall; for I perceive you have had some conversation there which you would count it uncivil to commemorate, but neither do I remember that I was ever there in your Company.

In the same Page you accuse me with comparing his Majesty to a mad Horse, kicking and flinging most terribly. 'Tis unkindly done of you, to say no worse: and to leave the Reader better possess'd against me, you quote not the place. The thing is below any answer, but to refer to the 110th page of my former Book being *Horaces of Augustus*.

Rep.p.112.

I cannot omit, lest some should take it for an Expression of mine, what follows, for you seem to have

have couch'd it so on purpose. *This is too like the stubborness of your Shrew, that when she was duck'd over head and ears, stretched up the Symbols ; or, as your Pin-divines would have it, the Sacraments of Lowfiness and Cuckoldry.* I have heard of some that have impoysoned with the Sacrament, of another Emperor that had his Sir-name from the Font, *Constantinus Copronymus*, having matr'd it at his Baptism, as did also *Wenceslaw*; of *Witches* that have imployed the *Hostia* in their Sorceries; and of Hereticks who have administred the Sacrament in the impurest Elements: But I never read before of a Divine that had to such height improved the Invention. But for the Sacrament of *Lowfiness*, I have formerly reckoned with you; for the Sacrament of *Cuckoldry*, cast up your own Accounts. I cannot imagine where you took the rise too of this jump of Wit, unless either from a Secular; *Andronicus Comnenus*, who furnished an Horn-Gallery with a several Stags head for every mans Wife he had to do with: or, from an Ecclesiastick, who was in former times like you, a Penner of Declarations, and fill'd a whole Trunk with the single Shooes of Women, such was his humour, with whom he had the same occasion; this man having chosen the  
measure

measure of the Wives Foot, the other of the Husbands Head, to remain as the Trophies of their Lasciviousness. This is, I know, only a *Julianism*, and you think, and are glad of the occasion, that as oft as you have to do with the Nonconformists, you have a liberty to speak prophanely, like those that will on purpose, Curse and Swear the rather in Civil Company. For I suppose you make thus bold with the Sacraments, because I mention'd an Argument not very weak on their part, that to institute and impose Ceremonies, was to make so many new Sacraments; forasmuch as our Church declares, *That they serve not only for decent Order, and godly Discipline, but they are apt to stir up the dull mind of man to the remembrance of his duty to God, by some special and notable significancy whereby they may be edified.* And further, our Church defines a Sacrament, *an outward visible Sign of an inward spiritual Grace.* And I added, *Our Author besides makes them by his Principle, when commanded, a new part of the Divine Law.* But to this I do not find that in a very large and noisome Discourse you give any tolerable answer, but this  
*Repr. from* jeer of Sacraments of Lowliness  
*180, to 204* *and Cuckoldry, as in your other*  
 Book,



Book, that they cry *Sacraments, Sacraments*, as if you had been swearing a *Dutch Oath*; save that you insist upon the old Answer still, that *Divine Institution is the only thing necessary to the Nature and Office of a Sacrament*. Whereas I think pag. 85. with submission, that by the same Argument, there can be no Idolatry in the World. For Idolatry is either worshipping a False God; or else the worshipping of a True God after a false manner. Now may you not as well say, That because there is but one true God, therefore men cannot adore a false one; because there is but one true Worship, men cannot practise Superstition; as because there are but two true Sacraments, men cannot devise new ones? And though the Church allows them not for Sacraments, You may remember the case of *Julian's* Souldiers at the burning of Incense. It seems to me much the same, as if, because God made man upright, it were not possible for him to seek out many Inventions. But enough of this, onely I will furnish them with one Argument more, though none of the weightiest, out of the *Rationale* of the *Rom. 68.* *Common Prayer*, which you ought not to have been ignorant of; the  
Bishop

Bishop instructing us, that the Collects are by some of the Ancients called *Sacraments*, either because their chief use was at the Communion, or because they were uttered per Sacerdotem. At this rate there would indeed be *Sacraments*, *Sacraments*; I might pretend to be a shred of a Sacrament; the whole Liturgy would be so many Sacraments; nay, your *Reproof* might bustle to be a Sacrament, as being uttered too per Sacerdotem.

In many places of your Book, and sure you think it a lucky hit, you would fix upon me the old *Martin Mar-Prelate*, (in one page you do it four times).

*Rep. p. 813.* Let me onely desire you as often to remember *Martin Parker*, and your relation to him; for to my knowledg, if you do not make *Ballads to the Disgrace of Religion*, you are a Singer of such Ballads; and if you be curious, I will at a more convenient time rehearse them to you.

You had said our Saviour in chasing the Sellers out of the Temple (Tradesmen you call them) had put on, out of an  
*Pref. Ep. p. 7. and Def. p. 152.* hot fit of Zeal, a seeming fury and transport of Passion, and that he took upon him in that Action the

*the Person and Priviledg of a Jewish Zealot.*  
 This I found fault with in my former Book,  
 p. 324. and with good reason, if you would  
 but consider that you say, *A well-meaning*  
*Zealot is the worst of all Villains.* You still de-  
 fend it here by the Examples of *Phineas* and  
*Elias*; and to have been a *Power*, or at least a  
*license for private persons to execute by publick*  
*authority notorious Malefactors, upon the place,*  
*without form and process of Law,* Rep. p. 134.  
 This Priviledg is very far fetch'd, and long  
 discontinued, if from the time of *Phineas* and  
*Elias* until our Saviour, there were no new  
 Claim enter'd. But really it seems to me, by  
 this and some other passages, that you do not  
 attribute much belief to the Miracles of our  
 Saviour, among which perhaps this was one  
 of the most remarkable. For, to omit other  
 Authors, *Grotius* who ought to be of as  
 much value with you as all the rest put to-  
 gether, interprets the Text thus; *Regni sui*  
*in hominum animas Specimen aliquod Christus*  
*dederat Asinorum accitu; Majus nunc & max-*  
*ime admirabile edit in purganda aede pater-*  
*na, nulla vi externa, sola Divina virtute ve-*  
*nerabilis.* Our Saviour, saith he, had gi-  
 ven an experiment of his Kingdom over  
 the minds of Men by his sending for the  
*Asses*; He gives now a greater and most  
 admi-

*admirable proof thereof by this cleaving of his Fathers house, which he did by the Majesty of his Divine Power, not of any external violence.*

I had quoted upon occasion Mr. Hales his Book of Schism, And Doctor Stillingsfleet (who though yet living, deserves the honour to be already cited for good Authority) does

*the same, as I find since stilling him as learned and judicious*

*a Divine as most our Nation hath bred, in his excellent though little Tract of Schism;*

and transcribes the same Passages. You hereupon laugh at me, for having said in his commendation, that he was a man *who had cleared himself from froath and groans.* Had I

been the Author of that expression, it was not at all ridiculous, but is very proper and significant, and founded upon a Latine classical saying. But the best sort is 'tis Mr.

Hales his own words in that same book; and though Mr. Hooker, were so long-winded an

Author that you never could read him, methinks you might have had the patience upon this occasion to have perused Mr. Hales

his book of eight pages. But to amend the matter you say, *the loftiest thing that can be*

*said of so great a man as Mr. Hales is, that*

*he was neither a Mad-man nor a Fanatick.*

I yeild Mr. Beyer, and instead of admiring that Majesty and Beauty which sits upon the Forehead of Masculine Truth and generous Honesty, I will henceforward admire only the maidenly modesty, & rosiat blushes that bloom on your Cheeks and inhabit your Forehead. But this will not suffice: Mr. Hales you say too was a Socinian. I see you did not serve your Fanatick Prenticeship in vain. No man can tell you truth but he must presently be a Socinian. No more Socinian than your self, Sir. You have spent much paper in your Defence, to decipher the Fanatick deportment toward all Adversaries: but, whether it be theirs or no, I am sure you have learnt it to the height. *He has drop'd, you say, some loose passages in that Treatise, for which himself was then censured, and the Book is still, though the Author be pardon'd, because as he did not first publish it, so he afterward recanted it.* Most judicially said, and in the language of the Tribunal. But who told you this fine Story? Doctor Heylin I warrant you; for as for your self it appears you never read him. But if Mr. Hales of Schisme be too loose for you, will you be pleas'd to admit my Lord Arch-bishop of Canterburies Authority; that the Schisme is alwayes the Crime of those who give the occasion. But if

if neither Mr. *Hales*, nor the late Lord Arch-bishop may be trusted in the matter, pray, Sir, inquire in the Shops for *Copernicus of Schisme*, if there be any such Treatise, for that Author would have been the most proper to have salved the *Phænomena* either way.

You take occasion here and in very many other places of your book, to tax me partly upon Bishop *Bramhall's* account (and more of my Lord *Arch-bishop Laud, Hugo Grotius*, and others) as if I had traduced him under a seeming commendation. To this once for all. Had it not been for your Preface to Bishop *Bramhal* (which I will never pardon, because it drew me out into publick to be a Writer) I had never meddled with him. But no man will fare the better or gain reputation by keeping you company: whereas you intrude your self upon men of the best authority, by their names to render your self considerable. In that Preface you stuff'd out the Bishop with such Bombast, you rung such an incessant peal of *In Laudem Thomæ Bum, Bum, Bum, sine fine*, that it would have made an Horse break his Halter. But now that I have wrought so good an effect, as to rescue him in some sort from you, and

and that you have since (which looks prettily) Printed your *Preface* without his Book, I will not (though I have so fresh a temptation by your censure of Mr. *Hales*) further molest his memory, but let his life and death be buried together. And if I have in some historical passages writ too distinctly, I cannot ascribe whatsoever error of that kind I may have committed, to any other cause than the reading of ill Books, which have perhaps vitiated my stile as well as others. For ever since you were to be sold at *Jo. Shirly's*, *Sam. Tompson's*, *Rich. Davis's*, *J. Martin's*, *James Collins's*, *Henry Hall's*, you have so perpetually pester'd the Press with your own Books, and obstructed better Authors, that men have scarce had any thing else to read, and so your virulence has corrupted the Age you live in. For, as I instanced to you in my former Book, your malignant remark even upon Bishop *Brambal*, that, *as far as the prejudice of the Age would permit him, he was an acute Philosopher*, I think it now pertinent to shew in some few examples more, how civil you are to your friends, and of consequence how generous to your Adversaries. First, for friend *Galen*. I confess that *Galen* gave a kind of Specimen in his

Tent. p. 77.

book

*book de usu Partium, which though it is indeed a famous work, yet it is not so Divine as to be writ by Enthusiasme; but alwayes seem'd to me such a thing as might either be very much amended, or, much improved: which I do not say that I may extenuate Galen's commendation. No, I know you don't, just as you did not publish your Preface to impair Mr. B's esteem in the least, but to correct his scribbling humour, and for a warning to the Rat-Divines, and to show how the Bi-*

*Tent. p. 106. shop baffled him without condescending to his Systematical and Pushpin Divinity. Then Friend Harpy.*

*In whatsoever manner therefore Generation is performed, whether the Man do only, &c. (which excellent Doctor Harvy guesses at, but not so ingeniously as he is wont.) And yet you were not acquainted with your Comfortable Importance. Who next? I wonder how Mer-*

*Tent. 189. curius Trismegistus cou'd Cousen those great Counsellors of Criticism, Lipsius, the Scaligers, &c. and I cannot but*

*Tent. 188. admire that Lipsius, Scaliger,*

*Tent. 269. Vossius, nay, and Grotius too, so many clear-sighted men*

*should understand the thing wrong, as if they did it on set purpose. See more, our Countrey-*



man Sanford or Parker, in a most learned book of Christs descending into Hell, which begun by Sanford, Parker finished, first attempted to accommodate, wrong and rashly, the Theological History of the Gentiles to the Sacred History: but whoever was the first Author, the venerable Names of Scaliger, Selden, Bochart, Vossius, ay and Grotius again brought it in reputation: so that every man that affects to be accounted a prime Philologer, sets up forthwith to accommodate of any fashion the Greek matters to the Hebrew; the Scabbado of which affectation does so break out every day, &c. but they got the Itch it seems first of Grotius and those other Scoundrels. 'Tis to be consider'd Mr. Bayes, that you are the wonder of this Age, so they must all subscribe to you, and carry your books after you. On: I do question but that great and honourable Person Picus Mirandula, was a person of stupendious parts and learning: yet I am sure that those notions wherewith he made the greatest noise in the world, were but grand and pompous Futilities. For the School-Doctors you abuse them at every turn; and I could away with it better but for one reason, which is, that

C. Pl. Pb. p.  
100.

C. Pb. Pl. p.  
68. & p. 93.  
& Rep. p. 201.

that you say in the fifth Leaf of your Preface:—It was never any part of the Church of Englands design to exchange the old School-Doctōrs for Calvinian Systems and Syntagms, so that it is not so handsomely said of 'm therefore, that *they are full of such stuff as makes fools stare, and wise men*

*laugh.* But whereas I had hereupon said, p. 213. that you had owned the School-

men for Authors of the Church of England's Divinity, you formally deny it, insulting with all your natural and acquired rudeness. It is not worth the Readers trouble to interests him in such a foolish brabble; but if any one please to take the pains to inspect your book again, as I have done and quoted the leaf on this occasion, the most he can say will be that you have Cheated me; but if you have done it so cunningly that it cannot be made out evidently, I am content to go by the loss. Yet for a collateral proof, how far to rely either upon your good Faith or good Memory in what you your self write,

let him take one instance  
Rep. p. 142. where you quote me in my page 120. Thus when you cite for your own convenience that passage, that Rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, you are pleased

to add too; that this Text will scarce admit my interpretation; and yet you know no more what my interpretation would be, than you do what Witchcraft and Rebellion are. You might have done me the favour, instead of saying, I cite it for mine own convenience, to have begun with my own words; I will allow him that Rebellion is as the Sin of Witchcraft. But that candor is not to be expected: Yet to show you that I know better what you write, and what your Interpretation would be than you do your self, pray read in your Preface to Bishop Bramhal, 32 Leaf; where you say; *The Clergy of England are as strongly principled against the hateful Sin of Rebellion, as against Witchcraft or Idolatry.* Then see the Text, 1 Sam. 15. 25. *For Rebellion is as the Sin of Witchcraft, and Stubbornness is as Iniquity and Idolatry.* Now, Mr. Bayes, whether did I not at least guess shrowdly at your Interpretation? But you are excusable forasmuch as you confess'd in that Preface, both at beginning and end, that you knew not what it would prove, nor had leisure nor patience to examine whether it were Idle or not Idle.

Proceed, I might have added to them the late grand dogmatical Master of Modern Orithodoxy, whose rude dog-

C. Pl. Pb.

P. 93.

dogmatizing has occasion'd as many Controversies in the Christian Church, as ever Manes and Valentinus did. Had you told his

Name it had been fairer; but by the project of that whole Book, it seems to be Calvin. So, Mr. Bayes, he is sped: You have done his work that he shall never lift up his head again. Yet, Lucian is every

where so abusive, and bitter in  
C. Pl. Ph. his Satyrs against all sorts of  
P. 6. Philosophers, that, if his mouth  
be any slander, they must have  
been a pack of the vilest Villains

p. 20 & 19. that ever breathed. Nevertheless,  
you say, some have slandered

Plato himself, together with Socrates, as guilty of that unnatural sin of the lustful Sodomites; which calumny had never gain'd any credit with us, had it not been reported by some of the Ancient Fathers; and yet it is too notorious to dissemble, that those Fathers were not only very careless in their relations concerning them, being apparently guilty of innumerable faults of memory, but also in many instances bigly disingenuous; in so much that I find no Prose-Writer agree so much with their reports as Lucian, whose main design it was to abuse every thing that was grave and sober.

Well spoke for your Clients, Mr. Bayes; ay,  
and

and for your self too. For, while you, Fort-  
 sooth, take only that most delightful prospect  
 to behold others scrambling and aspiring to  
 those things which you contemn

and trample upon, and while your C. Pl. Ph.  
 palate is not surfeited and cloy'd p. 18. &  
 with the same repeated relishes, p. 16.

(for you were but newly come  
 from your Grewel) nor your eye quite weary  
 of beholding the same repeated Objects, (you  
 had not yet seen your Comfortable Impor-  
 tance); yet you could have been highly con-  
 tented (upon the account of a Philosophick  
 Curiosity) to leave this present Theater, that  
 you might enter upon the next, for the delight  
 of being entertained with a new Scene of  
 things; yet you handled it so, that by p. 242.  
 you were upon the very point of your depar-  
 ture to (the Scene of) London, and to  
 play Bayes his part upon this present Thea-  
 ter. Go on and prosper. But;

had the pristine Learning of C. Pl. Ph.  
 Egypt been the same it was in p. 242. &  
 latter Ages, it had been as great p. 101.

a disparagement to Moses, as 'tis  
 now justly reputed a commendation, that he  
 was accomplished in all the Egyptian Learn-  
 ing, and had amounted only to this, That he  
 was a vain, trifling, Superstitious Fellow.

Why so? You put it, Mr. Bayer, too hard upon Moses. For neither did you intend it as a disparagement to Bishop Brambal, that as far as the prejudice of  
 C. Pl. Ph. the Age would permit him, he  
 p. 102. was an acute Philosopher. Still:

It is not my design by representing those Primitive Sages as Fools and Dunces, to rob them of that esteem and veneration with which they have been deservedly honoured in all succeeding Ages. That is more gentle where you say, You might give account too of the mean abilities of Orpheus and Pythagoras, but that you delight not to speak too hardly of any Virtuoso's Ashes. Nevertheless you tell Dr. Bathurst, You had sufficiently convinced him how little the

C. Pl. Ph. Virtue of Cato, and Honesty of  
 p. 5. Regalus, were to be valued. But to conclude; Whether do you handle our Saviour himself

C. Pl. Ph. more softly? And then if we  
 p. 26. look into our Saviours Life, the unparallel'd civility and obligingness of his Department seems to be almost as high an Evidence of the Truth and Divinity of his Doctrine as his unparallel'd Miracles were. For it is altogether unimaginable that so sweet-natur'd a Person should be so base and  
 profligate

profligate an Impostor, as he must have been if he had been one. And yet your self must, and do, avow, that he was not so sweet-natur'd to the Scribes and Pharisees; *Matth. 23: 15. Wo unto you Scribes and Pharisees Hypocrites, for ye compass Sea and Land to make one Profelite; and when he is made, you make him two-fold more the Child of Hell than your selves, &c.* and so in many other places. You know too he was once in a very hot fit of Zeal, and a seeming fury and transport of Passion. You say too, that whereas the gentle and sweet-natur'd St. John was his darling Disciple, you often find him checking Peter's rude and unmannerly Zeal.

But by the way, where is it that you find it so often? I cannot find it more than once, which was when he rebuked him for cutting off *Malchus* his ear: neither is he there so severe upon him as you are to tax him of rudeness and unmannerliness. But once is not often. You, I doubt, trusted herein too much to your memory, and thought he had check'd his zeal four times, because the same thing is related by all the four Evangelists. I find indeed that our Saviour, *1 John 22.* check'd Peter for inquiring what should be of *John*; and ask'd him *what is that to thee?* But here he reprov'd not his zeal but his cu-

riosity. And at another time, *Mat. 14. 31.* when Peter, walking on the water began to sink, he blamed his want of Faith. And *Mat. 16. 23.* Our Saviour said to him, *get thee behind me Satan, thou art an offense unto me, for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but the things that be of men.* But this was not neither because of Peters zeal, but the unreasonable care he had of our Saviours preservation. And I do not at present remember that he was check'd oftner upon whatsoever occasion. This mistake arises from reading of *Plutarch*, when you should be at your Bible and Devotions; and the ravishing delights you take in labouring your periods, and framing your own thoughts and conceptions into words, makes you forget the Text of Scripture. You were sure, and had some Idea remaining, that some-body was check'd; and so it were for zeal, (which was to your present purpose) it was not so much matter with you on whom it lighted. Whereas indeed I doubt it was that very *John* whom you oppose to Peter. For *Luke 9. 54.* he, because a Village of the *Samaritans* would not entertain our Saviour, would presently have commanded fire from Heaven to consume them, as did *Elisha* (whom too you quoted for one of your *Zelotes*.) And him



him indeed our Saviour severely rebuked for that zeal, telling him, *he knew not what manner of Spirit he was of.* And to this I might add *Matth. 10. 35.* And *Luke 20. 20.* Where the Mother of *Zebadees* Children, and the Sons of *James* and this *John* would first have covenanted with our Saviour, that he should grant them whatsoever they desired, and then made it the request of their Family, *that they two might sit, one at his right hand and the other at his left in his Kingdom;* for which he rebuked them, saying further, *Whoever will be great among you shall be your Servant, and whoever will be the chief of you shall be the Servant of all.* So that indeed I doubt you have rob'd *John* to pay *Peter* with his rudeness and unmannerliness; and in making it often, you have mistook thus the number of the Persons for the frequency of the time. But you may perhaps object, that this last of *John* was not a fault of zeal, but of ambition; nevertheless, because some mens zeal is only for preeminence, and thereupon they are often rude and unmannerly to their Betters, I thought it not unreasonable to put you in mind of it on this occasion, that you might apply it to your self; and learn that being the Arch-deacon you ought instead of censuring

ing for Superiority over others to be their Minister. But I pray you reflect seriously upon this your mistake, & hereafter either read the English Bible more carefully and the words (but you will not allow them to be so) of

*our Saviour and the Apostles, or*  
 Hier. p. 104, 105. *else, like a Traditor, lay it by for good and all, as a Book in some places erroneous, in some places scarce sense, and of dangerous consequences, when every pert, bold, and conceited Fellow takes upon himself to raise Doctrines and Opinions thence, contrary to the meaning of God in his Holy Word, and contrary to the Mind and Meaning of the Holy Ghost, &c.*

But, to let these things be as they will, it is however too bold to say (but you durst not adventure further) that the  
 C. Pl. Ph. *civility of our Saviours deportment*  
 p. 25. *was almost as high an evidence of the Divinity of his Doctrine, as his unparallel'd Miracles, otherwise he had been a base and profligate Impostor. You ought not to put such things as these upon Cross and Pile so; for ill use may be made of it, though it should be against your intention. And really, had you writ as much of Mahomet as you have here done of Christ and Moses, you have put fair to be, as you have*  
 been

been the second Author of *Ecclesiastical Politie*, so now, of the *Tre Grandi Impostori*. So that you see, I hope, by this time, if my Stile hath differently decipher'd the same person in different Circumstances, where I learnt it, but have not yet attained the height of your Faculty.

You condemn me for having in my p. 309. mentioned the Reverend Bishop *Andrews* his Form of Consecration of a Church or Chappel; which I might have done at large, and inserted something of History that depends upon it: but I did not, neither shall I now say any thing further, but only refer you to Arch-Bishop *Parker*, p. 85. of his *Antiquitates Ecclesie Britannicae*; where you may find what his Judgment was in this case of things of the very same nature.

I had said, p. 166. of my Book, That I could quote my Lord *Verulam* to your confusion: hereupon Rep.p.155 you tell me the Quotation of my Lord *Verulam* would have been more to the purpose, or the Story of *Pork*, which you say I know, but I say I do not know; or however if I did, you might have had the manners to have told it for His Majesties sake, because he knows how to make use of it; You think you put me hard to it. I am sorry that I

must trouble the Reader with such stuff, and these mean Contests *de Lata Porcina*. But this is all the Fleece a Man can hope for in Sheering you. I had told you Sir, (there was not a word of His Majesty) in my p. 300. alluding to your Tautologies, *That all the variety of your Treat is Pork, (you know the Story) but so little disguised by good Cockery, that it discovers the miserable-ness, or rather the penury of the Host.* Now here have you brought my p. 166. into conjunction with my p. 300. that (which every man will discern) because my Lord *Verulam* was mentioned, you might make a Quibble between *Pork* and *Bacon*. Nor did I ever see a Quibble fetch'd at greater distance, or more cunningly carried. But in whatsoever you undertake, you are extraordinary, as (because I promis'd you before some Instances in your *Ecclesiastical Politie*) where you are informing the World concerning some *Setts of Men made up of Sanctified Fury, &c. Tois gar Ec. Pol. Presbiteroisin, &c.* which was p. 150. to make a Greek Quibble forsooth upon the Presbyterians, and of so many Ages ago. Whereas the good o'd Poet never dream'd of any such thing, or such a N<sup>n</sup>.tion, and the Chrono-logy

logy and Geography of it varies as much as in the Play of *Moses* and *Julius Caesar*. A third Instance shall be in an Anagram you give us of *Calvin*; that is, *Culina*: though it be in two Languages that understand not one another, and the Man spent very little in his Kitchen, nor made Provision for it, but all went to his Study, and yet his whole Inventory at his death mounted not to above seventy pound *Sterling*. This may serve for a *Specimen* or scantling of your Wit, and to shew how well you spent your time at both Universities: *Which I do not say by any means to diminish your just commendation*; for certainly none ever quibbled with greater *Enthusiasm*.

I shall, upon this occasion, take leave to digress a little further concerning *Calvin* and *Geneva*, to which you are every where a declared Enemy. The Town you might have spared, if not for his, yet for *Sakes* his sake, the Bishop of *Geneva*; whose Book was thought fit to be Licensed by your Predecessor Doctor *Heywood*: though afterwards it was called in, and burnt by Proclamation; but the Doctor was *punished with Preferment*. But as to *Calvin* himself, it had been well that you had rather initiated

ted the incomparable Modesty and Candor  
 of Reverend Mr. *Hooker* in all his Writings,  
 and especially in this particular; but how  
 should you imitate him, whom, notwith-  
 standing your challenging and defying the  
 Nonconformists with his *Ecclesiastical Poli-*  
*tie*, it seems you had never read. *I think*,  
 saith he, *that Calvin was incomparably the*  
*wisest Man that ever the French Church did*  
*enjoy, since it enjoyed him.* Divine Know-  
 ledg be gathered not by Hearing or Reading  
 so much, as by teaching others. For though  
 thousands were Debtors to him, as touching  
 Knowledge in that kind, yet he to none, but  
 only to God the Author of that most blessed  
 Fountain, the Book of Life; and of the ad-  
 mirable dexterity of Wit, together with the  
 helps of other Learning, which were his  
 Guides. And I find the Reverend Bishop  
 of *Durham*, Doctor *Morton*, in his little  
 Tract *de Pace Ecclesiastica*, had no less opi-  
 nion of him. In that Tract the Bishop, as  
 also Bishop *Davenant*, Bishop *Hall*, and o-  
 thers do with singular Wisdom and Piety  
 treat concerning reconciliation of Protestants  
 among themselves: a Design much more  
 probable and better timed, than that which  
 was set up by others for the accommo-  
 dating of our Church with the *Roman*.

There

There he saith, *Consultant illi, si placet, Lutherum, Melancthonem, Jac. Andream Brentium; Nos Calvinum Nostrum, Petrum Martyrem & Zanchium proferemus* (we will produce saith he our Calvin) *qui singuli in Ecclesia Christi veluti prima magnitudinis lumina fulserunt.* And he adds upon occasion in the next page, *Hec Calvinus tam pacate tam placide tamque indulgenter, ut jam non homo sed ipsa humanitas loqui videatur.* It were endless to cite the testimonies of all sorts of men, not only of the Protestant, but of the Romish perswasion, concerning that excellent person: but indeed he needs no more certain commendation than that he is traduced and accused by you. And whereas you tax him as pragmatical and intermeddling with other mens matters; what could he do otherwise, all the Learned men of Europe solliciting his approved Judgment in the most weighty occasions. Nor therefore could he avoid that general correspondence by Letters, of another stile I am sure than your Letters are, who are therefore offended at him. Though you might have remember'd that there were some Letters too writ to him by Arch-bishop Parker. But the design of you and those of your Cast has been, and still it seems to continue, against  
all

all the forraigh Churches: and you are but *Heylin* resuscitated, whose business it was by his scandalous Histories to blacken the whole Reformation; attributing (as Reverend Doctor *Moulin* well expresses it) and *imputing the excesses that happened by the ordinary course of humane business unto Religion.* And he did it to so good purpose, that I believe his Books have occasion'd among us the defection of more Protestants unto the *Romish* Religion, than any thing that themselves have writ in the points of Controversie. And this distance from all other of the Reformed Churches hath been and is held up by you and your party so studiously, that besides what has been writ against *them* with all bitterness; they have even in cases of Extremity and Necessity refused to Communicate with them. Hence it is that you say in your Preface; *Therefore Reader I beg thy hearty prayers and endeavours for the Peace and Prosperity of the Church of England* (He had need when you do so dangerously interrupt it) *for when that is gone it will be very hard to find out another, with which, if thou art either honest or wise, thou wilt be over-forward to joyn Communion.* And why so? Truly I know not unless it be for some more peculiar and Ceremonial perfection that our Church



Church may have attain'd to above others. And this indeed hath been alwaies magnified and esteem'd to that height by those of your Bran and Leaven, that even our own Kings and Bishops have all along been Characteriz'd by them well or ill, according as they promoted those matters or remitted them. As for *Henry the Eighth*, he is a gone-man, and his *Sacriledge* will never be pardon'd even in his Successors. For *Edward the Sixth*, that miracle of Princes, yet his death was none of the *Infelicities* of the Church of England. But might he not have lived to be wiser and better? But in the blessed Reign of *Queen Mary* (as in the Preface of the *Oxford Statutes* compiled in the time of Arch-bishop *Land*) *Potius incerta vacillans Statuta, viguit Academia, celebrantur studia, onituit disciplina, & optanda temporum felicitate* (if it could be had again for wishing) *Tabularum defectus resarciuit innatus Cauder, & quicquid legibus decretis moribus Suppletum est.* But then upon her death there came in an iron Age; *Terras Australes reliquit.* For *Decurrente Temporum Serie*, that is in *Queen Elizabeth* and *King James* his times, & *Vitiis & Legibus pariter laboratum est*; all was quite spoiled; yet sometimes she was *Elizabeth*

*Elizabeth*, and sometimes *old Elizabeth* with you, thereafter as she behaved her self in the matter of Conformity. There in her *Quinto Eliz.* she was miserably out in her Divinity. And then in *Decimo Tertio* she did no better, when she was contented the Puritans should only subscribe the Articles of Doctrine. But at other times she was pretty tolerable. King *James* was more busie than belong'd him, when he writ a Letter to her in behalf of the Non-conformists: but after he succeeded her in *England* he made amends. But he had a great fault nevertheless, that he was so uncivil to the *Arminians*, even to such a degree, as to stile *Arminius the Enemy of God*, *Arminianisme Heresie*, the *Arminians Hereticks* and *Atheistical Sectaries*. For though in *England* he advanced the Episcopal Government, yet he had adhered to the Doctrine of *Calvin*, which you and your Tribe do so detest, that though a King please you never so well in matter of Conformity, yet unless he humour you too in *Arminianisme* or such devices, he cannot be assured of your good graces. And so it is too even as to the Bishops. Arch-bishop *Cranmer* is subject to many exceptions. But Arch-bishop *Parker* was a Prelate of great worth, and no less eminent in the Churches cause.

cause. But Arch-bishop Grindal was a man of another Spirit, he having convers'd with Calvin and Beza abroad could not shake off their Acquaintance, or was as willing to continue it as they : when Bishop of London, he condescended to have a French Church set up in the City : when of York, he entertain'd correspondence with Zanchy a Divine of Heidelberg. An heinous crime ! Nay, but when he was Arch-bishop of Canterbury, he not only conniv'd at the Lectures, which were newly set up by the Puritans, but even encouraged them. A sad man was he ! But then came Arch-bishop Whitgift, who repar'd all that had run to ruine by the negligence and remissness of some great Bishops, and by the zeal of the Grindalizing Lectures. And yet this truly venerable Bishop could not escape censure too among you ; for though he were right in Ceremonies, yet he was wrong in substance, and gave authority to the Articles of Lambeth, which run point-blank against the Arminian Tenets. Therefore notwithstanding all his merits, he can scarce be forgiven. But Arch-bishop Bancroft was a man I trow without exception. But then as misfortune would have it, Arch-bishop Abbot succeeds him, and he was too facil and yielding

in the exercise of that great Office, and by his extraordinary remissness in exacting strict Conformity to the prescribed Orders of the Church in point of Ceremony, he seem'd to resolve those legal Determinations to their first indifferency. And he brought in such an habit of Nonconformity, that the future reduction of those tender-conscienced men to a long discontinued obedience, was at the last interpreted an Innovation. This is out of your Doctor Heylin, who goes down with you for Gospel, and is to you like Meat, Drink, and Cloathing. All this adoe must be made for things that profit nothing, (save that to you indeed they are very profitable) and according as great Princes or eminent Prelates are more or less ceremonious, so must they be ranked in your Calendar. By how much a man is more a Christian you account him the worse Bishop: and it is now grown, instead of the requisites in Scripture to that sacred Office, a sufficient commendation to have been an *admirable Ritualist*.

'Tis now time to return to our Pork and Bacon; but because you cry Pork Pork as often as any Raven, I will first to stay your Stomach, give you the Story of the Pork,  
and

and the rather to satisfy another friend of mine who did me the favour to interpret it of his Highness the Duke of York, when he contented himself the former year with the homely fare of the Marriners at the *Doggerbank*. It was at an Audience of the Embassadors of the *Aetoleans* and *Antiochus*, in the Council of *Achaë*, *Quintius*, the Roman General, being present. *Antiochus* his Embassadors boasted there very much of the potent Armies of their King; thundring out the hard names of *Elymæans*, *Cadusians*, *Medians*, &c. of which they consisted: whereupon *Quintius*, to take off the wonderment and terrour, replied; (and I will give you honest *Philemon Holland* for an Interpreter) Now in faith this is mine Host of *Chalcis* up and down; a friendly Man I assure you, and a good Fellow in his House, and one that knoweth how to entertain his Guests, and make them very welcom. We went upon a time to make merry with him, and I remember it was at *Midsummer*, when the dayes are longest, and the Sun at the botteſt. And as we wondred how, at such a season of the year, he met with that plenty of *Venison*, and such variety withal; the man nothing so vainglorious as these Fellows are, smiled pleasantly.

family upon us, and said, We were welcom to a Feast of good Swine and no better : But welfare a good Cook my Masters, who by his cunning hand, what with seasoning it, and what with serving it up with divers Sawces, has made all this fair shew of wild Flesh, and the same of sundry sorts. Thus, Mr. Bayes, have I reveal'd to you this great Mystery of Pork, of which you were so curious, and which tended only, as I told you, to show how jejune you were, who in all your matters, and even in that of railing, whereof you are most copious, and the best furnished; yet are forced to scive up to the Reader continually the cold Hashes of plain repetitions, to stuff out your Books and fill your Table. I hope I have with this stay'd your Stomach; and if you will but expect a little, I will too, in convenient time, bring in your Bacon.

You had, to make the Ceremonies go down better with the Non-conformists, said, that 'twas no more for the Magistrate to impose them than to determine a new signification of words. For it is your great Art to make the Ceremonies at once stupendiously necessary and at the same time despicably little; both a Fly and a Whale:

In whose vast bulk, though  
 store of Oyl doth lye,  
 We find more shape, more  
 beauty in a Fly.

Rel. Com.

p. 40.

This I made merry with, as of good reason. For it would raise a very great disorder in the World to brou-verse so, and overturn the signification of all words: for even in the name of your Function, if a Man should but chance to lisse, it would make a dangerous alteration; but however to impose such contrary significations with the same penalties too, would make wild work, and pester the Nation with a whole swarm of Informers. But in that Debate, I instanced in *Augustus Caesar*, who was so shy of unusual words: And this you will needs have to be a notable mistake, because *Julius Caesar* compiled a Book *de Analogia*, forgetting that *Suetonius* describes at large *Augustus* his hereditary exquisiteness in that particular. Those which delighted in new words, and those which affected old, (apply it to Ceremonies) be equally despised, both being alike contemptible: Inasmuch that it was reported,  
 he

In vita  
 Aug. 86,  
 & 88.

he displaced a Consular Lieutenant for a Fault of Orthography. And if Orthography in Worship were now as strictly observed, perhaps your Spiritual Lieutenancy might run the same risk.

I had chanced in my Book to speak of *Hudibras*, with that esteem which an excellent piece of Wit upon whatsoever Subject will alwayes merit. But you hereupon fall into such a Fit and Rapture of railing at me, that you have exceeded not only all the Oyster-women and Butter-whores, but even your self, pretending that I have done him some dishonour. Should I study a suitable return to you, I could not raise my self into more choler then to call you a *Jewel*, a *Glass-drop*, a *Tintinnabulum*, words that you with some sympathy delight in, and whose Heraldry is to be Pendant. As for you, I cannot restrain you of this liberty, who have wisely taken safeguard in the Ecclesiastical Function; and, fore-seeing betimes what occasion you might have, thought fit to post your self up in Print, that you  
*are not valiant.* Only I could  
 have for your own sake wished  
 you had not call'd me *Judas*, lest so eminent

C. Pl. Pb.

P. 15.



rient a Divine as you are should appear more concerned for *Hudibras* than for your Saviour. For the rest you may please to know, that, what-ever you have here said to me, cannot either diminish or increase my esteem for that Author.

You foam again as in the Falling-Sickness, because I had *Rep.p.326* said that I thought God never intended the Clergy for Political and Secular Imployments, and you make it to be no less than Blasphemy. If they be so enamour'd of those drudgeries, and have depute you to maintain it, much good may it do them and you. But why should you upon no more occasion tell me; *Fatnos & ejus Terræ filios quod attinet* (saith a Jewish Zealot) *non magis nostro judicio prophettare possunt quam Asinus & Rana.* *Asses and Toadpoles may as soon expect the Impressions of the Divine Spirit, as such Dunces and Sots as you.* But these words of yours I suppose you pretend to be dictated by that Spirit. And further you say, *The Ruac Hakodesh dwell in such a distemper'd and polluted mind as yours! It may as soon unite it self to a Swine.* Ruack Hakodesh, Mr. Bayes, this is as your other Bayes has  
it;

Reh.Com. it; *A Crust, a lasting Crust*  
 p. 14. *for your Rogue Critiques : I*  
*would fain see the proudest of*  
*them all but dare to nibble at this. If they*  
*do, this shall rub their Gums for'm I pro-*  
*mise you. I doubt your Ruac Hakodesh is*  
*but at best a Bathcol. But is not this of*  
*yours fine Language think you for an A.*  
*Sac. Dom ? O Seytagn Aurang Olanda ba-*  
*calay Samatay. To show you, Mr. Bayer,*  
*that I too have been sometimes converiant*  
*with the Jewish Zealots, I will tell you here-*  
*upon a Story out of one of them, that shall*  
*as yours be nameless. There was among*  
*the Jews a certain kind of People that were*  
*called Profelytes, which you may in English*  
*interpret Turn-coats, concerning whom was*  
*that expression that I quoted you before of*  
*our Saviour, Mat. 23. 15. Wo unto you Scribes*  
*and Pharisees, Hypocrites, for you compass Sea*  
*and Land to make a Profelyte, and when he is*  
*made, you make him two-fold more the Child*  
*of Hell than you your selves. Now what I*  
*shall tell you of these men, I would not have*  
*you to misapply unto such Conscienti-*  
*ous Persons, as have reunited themselves*  
*unto the Discipline of our Church ; for I*  
*wish that all the Nonconformists rather*  
*could find reason to do in like manner :*  
 but

but it relates particularly to your self, who, abandoning all Modesty and Christianity toward your former party, have defiled and dishonour'd the Church that has receiv'd you into protection. But concerning these *Profelytes* and Turn-coats it was that the Jews had that Maxime; *Profelyti & Paderasta impediunt adventum Messia*: and again, *Profelyti sunt sicut Scabies Israelis*; that they were like a Scab or Leprosie to *Israel*. Therefore when a Profelyte was circumcised, they first catechized him about the sincerity of his Conversion; whether he did not do it, *ob adipiscendas Divitias*, to make his Fortune; *ob Timorem*, for fear of some inconvenience; or lastly, *ob Amorem erga aliquam Israeliticam*, Whether there were not some woman in the the bottom of the business. For they had a shrewd suspicion of them, *Quod non periti essent Mandatorum, quodque inducerent Vindictas, atque insuper quod forte eorum Opera imitarentur Israelita*: and therefore it was *quod Profelyti opus habebant Triumviratu*, and they would not trust them until three men had examined and taken care that all were right. And if it chanced that both the Man and the Wife

came together to be Profelytes, they were used to separate and keep them apart for ninety days, *ut dijudicari possit inter prolem in sanctitate genitam.* Nay, more, over there was a Baptisme peculiarly solemn before they could be admitted, and a great ceremonial *Rationale* by which it was to be administred. The whole body was to be dip'd *mersione una.* *Si, excepto apice minimi digiti, manebat adhuc in immunditia. Si quis capillosus admodum, omnem crinem capitis abluere necesse erat.* And there were many other scrupulous niceties in this washing. As for the Water; *homo Gonorrhæus non mundatur nisi in fonte. Sed Menstruosa & Profelytus in Collectione aquarum.* But put case the same man were *Profelytus* and *Gonorrhæus* too, though the Rabbies were very exact, I find not this decided; but it is easie to collect that he must have passed thorow both waters. They were so curious as to regulate what proportion too of water was sufficient, and the least quantity that could be allowed was, *Quatuor Sea aquarum* and the dimension, *Cubitus quadratus,* &c. Now, Mr. Bayes, I would gladly be satisfied whether you have been rightly and duly Profelyted according to these Ceremonies

monies, (for you know that the Jewish Ceremonies are not so abrogated but that the Pro-consul may re-establish them) but particularly have you been drawn cross the River to *Lambeth*? has not so much as the top of your little finger escaped ducking? is there not one hair of your head but has been over head and ears in the River? All this ought to have been exactly observed, (especially considering how much filth you brought about you) else you are not a true Turn-coat, but remain still in your uncleanness. And you might have had the advantage, in traversing thus the water, to have caught some of the prophecying *Todpoles* you speak of. But really, there is your self and some few more such Profelytes to our Church, that are so impure Creatures, that before you had been admitted into it, *'t had been absolutely necessary* for you to have passed thorow this cold Water Ordeal.

You do three times at least in your *Reproof*, and in your *Rep.p.* 101. *Transposer Rehears'd* well 125. 212. nigh half the book thorow, run upon an Author *J. M.* which does not a little offend me. For why should any other mans reputation suffer in a contest be-

twixt you and me? But it is because you resolved to suspect that he had an hand in my former book, wherein, whether you deceive your self or no, you deceive others extreamly. For by chance I had not seen him of two years before; but after I undertook writing, I did more carefully avoid either visiting or sending to him, least I should any way involve him in my consequences. And you might have understood, or I am sure your Friend the Author of the *Common Places* could have told you, (he too had a slash at *J. M.* upon my account) that had he took you in hand, you would have had cause to repent the occasion, and not escap'd so easily as you did under my *Transposal*. But I take it moreover very ill that you should have so mean an opinion of me, as not to think me competent to write such a simple book as that without any assistance. It is a sign (however you upbraid me often as your old acquaintance) that you did not know me well, and that we had not much conversation together. But because in your 115. p. you are so particular you know a friend of ours, &c. intending that *J. M.* and his answer to *Salmasius*, I think it here seasonable to acquit my promise to you in giving the

Reader

Reader a short trouble concerning my first acquaintance with you. *J. M.* was, and is, a man of great Learning and Sharpness of wit as anyman. It was his misfortune, living in a tumultuous time, to be toss'd on the wrong side, and he writ *Flagrante bello* certain dangerous Treatises. His Books of *Divorce* I know not whether you may have use of; but those upon which you take him at advantage were of no other nature then that which I mentioned to you, writ by your own father; only with this difference, that your Fathers, which I have by me, was written with the same design, but with much less Wit or Judgment, for which there was no remedy: unless you will supply his Judgment with his High Court of Justice. At His Majesties happy Return, *J. M.* did partake, even as you your self did for all your huffing, of his Regal Clemency, and has ever since expiated himself in a retired silence. It was after that, I well remember it, that being one day at his house, I there first met you and accidentally. Since that I have been scarce four or five times in your Company, but, whether it were my foresight or my good fortune, I never contracted any friendship or confidence with you. But then it was,

when you, as I told you, wander'd up and down *Moor-Fields* Astrologizing upon the duration of His Majesties Government, that you frequented *J. M.* incessantly and haunted his house day by day. What discourses you there used he is too generous to remember. But he never having in the least provoked you, for you to insult thus over his old age, to traduce him by your *Scaramuccios*, and in your own person, as a School-Master, who was born and hath lived much more ingenuously and Liberally than your self; to have done all this, and lay at last my simple book to his charge, without ever taking care to inform your self better, which you had so easie opportunity to do; nay, when you your self too have said, to my knowledge, that you saw no such great matter in it but that I might be the Author: it is inhumanely and inhospitably done, and will I hope be a warning to all others, as it is to me, to avoid (I will not say such a *Judas*,) but a man that creeps into all companies, to jeer, trepan, and betray them.

But after this fresh example of Roman-tick generosity, and your *John-like Good nature*, you plunge over head and ears into History. That of *Sibthorpe* and *Manwar-*

ing



ing, I had occasion before to speak of in better method. I shall therefore only renew your own request in your Epistle to the Reader, *that they would peruse it with an unprejudiced mind, and an ordinary attention*, and I shall leave the rest to their judgments. For I do not know but that you may have some peculiar dispensation to determine those in 30 Caroli to have been *most notorious Rebels*, notwithstanding that in the year 1667. this present Parliament resolved in the most solemn and judicial manner, by a concurrence of the Lords with the Commons, *that the judgment against them in 5 Caroli was illegal*. As to *Manwarings* particular, whose cause you take up with a remarkable concernment, I cannot but attribute it to some extraordinary correspondence of *Genius* betwixt you. His very name hath more influence and power upon you *Prof. to C.* than Doctor *Bathursts* Talis- *Pl. Pb.* mans; and that very week that you uttered this History of Doctor *Manwaring*, comes out of the Gazette of the first of *May* (I know not by what sympathy) *The History and Mystery of the Venerable Lues*, being a more new and ample discovery of that Disease, then yet hath been

P 4

extant,

*extant, with the Medicines and Methods of Cure practised in Italy, Spain, Germany, Holland, France, and England, &c.*  
*By J. Manwaring, Doctor of Physick.*

You launch out into a Relation of the Conference to6 at *Worcester-House*, betwixt the Episcopal and the Nonconformist Divines, by His Majesties Commission. What is most to be taken notice of, is, that you say here and in several other places, that the Non-conformists had *nothing of Sin* to object against those things from which they dissented. I have heard to the contrary, that they did in eight, if not ten several instances, but it is not my business to enumerate either for them or you. Only I admire, I confess, that upon such an occasion they could not in any one thing be gratified, not so much as in forbearing the Lessons of the Apocrypha. Inasmuch that, as many remember very well, after a long tug at the Convocation house about that matter, a good Doctor came out at last with great exultation, that *they had carried it for Bel and the Dragon*.

I cannot omit what it seems you thought necessary to be said in defence of your cause, that *none are better qualified for State Affairs then Church men, and none have ac-*  
*quirit-*

quitted themselves with greater art and success, and that things have rarely miscaried, but when their counsels have not been effectually followed (as you shall shew also in the cases of Cardinal Granville and Arch-bishop Laud.) Alas what needed you to have gone so far about, when your own Case all along, and even this your *Reproof* and this *Parallel*, are so pregnant a demonstration of their abilities? And you acquit your promise, where you say, that the wise and resolute *Ministry* of Granvell was render'd not only *successless* but odious to the People. For as he was a man of extraordinary wisdom, courage, and fidelity, that sincerely pursued his Masters interest, faithfully executed his commands, and kept up the height of his Authority; so being an implacable Divine he saw to the bottom of the projects that were carryed on by the discontented Lords, and foresaw the tendency of *Factions* in Religion to Disorders and Seditions in the State. I shall not suppose any one who reads this book to have so little convers'd with the modern History, as not to gather hence how ready you are to make good your word to the Lady whom I mentioned, as to your Religion. But I have not yet heard of any Protestant, beside your self and the Recorder of Lon-

*don*, who hath of late years so publickly avowed the Inquisition, of which that Cardinal *Granvell* was the chief Patron and Instrument. And instead of that honorable character you give him, I shall refer you to *Grotius*, whom I chuse always to ply you with above all other Authors. *The Government of the Netherlands was in appearance in Margeret, but in effect, and as to the power, was only in Granvell in whom Industry, Vigilance, Ambition, Luxury, and Avarice, and all manner indeed of good and evil were remarkably visible, &c.* And therefore it is not the greatest instance of your prudence (whatsoever you thought in your *meer Conscience*) to take this publick *Liberty* of dogmatizing, and to pick out that Cardinal (whom I never thought of) to be the Precedent and Parallel of Arch-bishop *Lauds* administration.

I should after this do you injury, did I not take notice that whereas in your Preface to Bishop *Bramhall*, in the fifth leaf before you conclude, I told you that you spoke scandalously and with leering reflexion upon the Government and Ministers of State, you try with the best of your Skill to return it upon me. But so unfortunately, that, as alwayes, you sink deeper

deeper and quag your self in your *Roman-Empire*, Were it possible, say you (and I abhor to hear you) that *His Majesty* should degenerate from the goodness of his nature, as much as they say *Nero* d.d, and again these are the *Sejanus's* that you described. It will not serve your turn this evasion. 'Tis like mine *Hok* in *Rep. p. 283.* France, that when he swore *Je-renie Dieu*, interpreted it of the *Dieu Bacchus*. You spoke not a word there of *Nero* or *Sejanus*, or that could be applyed to either; unless you can give us *Nero's Coronation-Oath*, or *Sejanus* his *cases of Conscience*, or at least instance in that *Emperours* being canonized for a *Saint and Martyr*, so that for the *Wit* and *Chronology* of the business this too is calculated for the Play of *Moses* and *Julius Caesar*. But for the discretion and loyalty of it, you might have long since answered, as for other passages, did either the *Rabble* or the *Statesmen* think you considerable; whereas indeed they reckon you (it seems) among that sort of men, who have a Priviledge to say any thing with impunity. But for the Long Parliament you have indeed an Ecclesiastical *Non ob-* *Rep. P. 400.* *stante* to say what you will. I.

shall only take up at one Passage: To deal plainly with you, I have read most of the Long Parliament Speeches over, and, though I know you will chide me for calling a whole Parliament Coxcombes, yet it is better to call them so than worse. Yet this censure I dare pass upon them, without any suspicion of arrogance within my self, that they were for the most part no better than School-boys Declamations, &c. all their discourses were much like yours, and accommodated to people that took Confidence for Reason, Nonsense for Mysteries, and Rudeness for Wit. Ay, Mr. Bayes, they wanted some certain helps, helps for wit, which you Man of Art have thought fit to make use of. Ay, Sir, that's your position, and you do here aver, that no man yet the Sun ever shone upon, has parts sufficient to furnish out a Stage, except it be with the help of your Rules. But I was misinform'd I perceive, who thought you might have call'd them all the names in in the Rainbow but Coxcombes, and never heard them arraign'd of want of Wit, but by your Abundance. But that you may not think altogether so meanly of them, (though indeed who is the man, either in the former or this Age that is able to stand or appear before your profound Eloquence  
and

and piercing judgment). let me refer you, although many others might be cited, to two Speeches of the Lord *Falklands*. the first concerning Episcopacy which begins, *He is a great Stranger to Israel, who knows not that this Kingdom hath long laboured under many and great oppressions, &c.* The second Speech was to the Lords, at the delivery of the Articles against the Lord Keeper, and begins, *These Articles against my Lord Keeper being read, I may be bold to app'y, &c.* And if you think these worthy of perusal, I shall expect your second opinion concerning the capacity and skill of those Gentlemen both in History and Oratory. But as for you, when Doctor *Heylin's* Divinity shall go for Orthodox, or his Prævarications pass for History, you may then, and not before, be reputed a Classical Author. And all the *Canterbury Tales* you have told in the *Reproof* will be Chronicle. There was just such another *Italian* acquaintance of yours, one *Polidore Virgil*, who coming into *England*, was dignified and distinguish'd like you, being made both a Prebend and an Arch-deacon; only you are not yet as he was, come to be Collector of the *Peter-pence*, ut all in good time. This Gentleman did too, even as  
you,

you, oblige this Nation with a piece of History, which after he had writ he used a notable invention, which if you would but imitate and burn all the Records of the times you write of, it were the only way imaginable to make you authentic.

As you are officious in your own Stories, so you are very inquisitive  
*Rep. p. 401.* and critical upon some that I have told you; and for a great space of your book you run out into such *Froath and Gowns* and *Taplash* of Wit, that it deserves compassion. In so much

that though men may perhaps  
*C. Pl. P<sup>b</sup>.* believe that, as you your self  
*p. 15.* affirmed, *you are not valiant,*

yet there is some reason to doubt the truth of what you say in the same place, *that you are not miserable.* But you are more particularly concern'd to know who that Queen was, and of what Country,

that gave so ridiculous  
*Rep. p. 503* a Town Seal. For where-  
 soever you can suspect any thing smutty underneath, you are wonderful curious to be thorowly informed: But I have already gratified you in *Pork*, and am not bound to nauseate the Reader to  
 comply



comply with your igaorance. I will tell you who that tyrant was that demanded some-  
*Rep. p. 303.* ny bushels of Fleas: It was *John Basilinich* the great Duke of *Muscovy*, and it was of the Citizens of *Muskow* that he required it, fining them for Non-payment. But as for this Queen, it shall for certain reasons of State be a secret. Only, not to leave you wholly in the dark, if you please to speak with your Fellow-Chaplain of the Copper-Mines, he will inform you, for it is in that Kingdom. And if he do not satishe you, if you please to resort to me, I will shew you the Medal of the City with that Device upon the Reverse of it.

'Tis more than time that I left scumming you, for I perceive 'tis all the same stuff: and, should I continue, I should leave you nothing in the bottom; therefore I shall only take notice of two things more very remarkable. The one is concerning the quotation out of *St. Austin*, which I speak of from *p. 209.* to *p. 214.* of my former book: *Signa quum ad res divinas pertinent Sacramenta appellantur.* You had said, you would lay odds there was no such saying in *St. Austin*; and now, because your Answerer had said *sunt Sacramenta* in stead of *Sacramenta appellantur* (which therefore  
 you

you note in him as a boldness with the Text for his own convenience, and an improvement beyond Modesty) you think you are safe. But, good Mr. Bayes, whether or no doth an Arch-deacon *pertinere ad res divinas*? And pray tell me what is the difference betwixt saying that you are an Arch-deacon, or you are called an Archdeacon? But because I wonder'd you could not find it when I my self had met with it, *Ep. 5<sup>ta</sup> ad Marcellinum*. You say, you will not laugh at me, no, for I rather deserve to be scourged for so gross and impudent a falsehood: whereas (as fortune would have it) the Fourth is the last Epistle to Marcellinus that St. Austin ever writ, and if you had search'd after a Fifth Epistle to him, you might have pored till the day of Judgment. Let all ingenuous men judge this matter. I quoted it only in the order of the Epistles, where the first to Marcellinus is the fifth Epistle. You say it should have been thus set down by me. *Ad Marcellinum: Epistola Quinta*: and that I quote it *Ep. Quinta ad Marcellinum*. I do not, but thus, *Ep. 5<sup>ta</sup> ad Marcellinum*. Mind first how falsely you have transcribed my quotation to fit it to your own turn; and then observe too, upon what a frivolous and mistaken ground,

ground, and about how slight a matter, you molest the Reader: for, beside what here, there runs a repetition of this matter of *Marcellinus*, and others of less consequence, through the whole *Reproof*. But, Mr. *Bayes*, this business is not yet ended thus: I will save your *pooring till the day of Judgment*, and help you to a Fifth Epistle of St. *Austin* too to *Marcellinus*. Take the Edition *Lugduni*. Anno 1561. and whereas you say that (*as fortune would have it*) St. *Austin* never writ but four Epistles to *Marcellinus*; this is but your usual misfortune, to hamper your self worse when you would dis-intangle your own errors. For his 5th. 7th. 158th. and 159th. are his four Epistles to *Marcellinus*. But you will find there p. 1080. and 222d. Epistle, which is a fifth to the same person. It is noted so all along in the head of the pages, and the contents of it express before it begins: *longa & docta est hac Epistola, tractans de Baptismo parvulorum contra Pelagium* (Because it was against *Pelagius*, could you not or might you not see it?) *quem tamen clementer in hac Epistola tractat. Hac per exemplaris vetustatem difficulter legi potuit, propter quod in aliquibus obscura est* (but not so obscure but

but you might have discerned it.)  
*Rep. p. 195.* You say you find none of the  
*Non-Conformists dirty Thumb-*  
*Nails in Patrons Library.* But have not  
 you, nor your poor *Leaf-turners* liberty to  
 peruse the Volumes? Or is there a pecu-  
 liar Reverence due to the Books in that  
 place that no man does or may touch them?  
 Or have you lost all your credit too *apud*  
*Jo. Shirley in parva Britannii* and is the  
*Pelican* grown hard hearted? Could you  
 but have reckon'd your five fingers you had  
 not mistaken. But this proceeds from your  
 bragging of Books (so usual with you) which  
 you have not the patience to read over no  
 more than your own; or having cast your  
 eye on the *Index* you imagine you have  
 read the Authour, for indeed here the *In-*  
*dex* points but at four Epistles, but the *Pol-*  
*lex* would have made them five.

The other passage of yours, and  
*Rep. from* last which I purpose to recom-  
*p. 422. to* mend to the Reader, is indeed ac-  
*p. 426.* companied with many extraor-  
 dinary circumstances. It is not that wherein  
 you accuse your Answerer to have given  
 their degrees to *Olivier* and *Ireton* at *Ox-*  
*ford*, though it is notoriously known that  
 it was a Bishop yet living who performed  
 that

that Ceremony. That is an untruth too slender to be taken notice of in a Book so pregnant as the *Reproof*. But it is the whole hinge it seems whereupon your design of writing has turned. For upon occasion of a certain *Declaration published*, as you inform, *after the Cheshire insurrection*, which you affirm to have been subscribed by your Answerer, and which you have kept in deck until this season; You pretend that you have dealt *so roundly*, as you call it, with him and the Party, and me too. Happy had it been for me that you had once understood how to speak truth. For had you not writ *so roundly*; I had never intermeddled in these matters, and so the *Reproof* too had been spared. However I have gain'd hereby so much learning as to know what is the Figure of Falshood, It seems 'tis Circular, and in your phrase, to speak *roundly*; and you have stretch'd it so till it is *Un-bear-able*. But I therefore shall answer you square. It is known, and ready to be proved by thousands, that the Declaration mention'd was not writ by your Answerer, nor any of his party; but by the Fifth-monarchy men, and its effect vented it self in that wild insurrection of *Vennor*. You your self, although you were not of so high a dispensati-

penfation, yet were at that time of Age  
 fufficient, and stirring enough in your little  
 Sphere to have underftood it rightly. But  
 it is a grievous thing to forego a falſhood  
 that is ſerviceable to the great deſign; and  
 the *Ends of your publick Government will*  
*at leaſt, excuſe if not hallow,* the moſt Or-  
 bicular untruth. Hence it was that you were  
 ſo forward to publiſh that book of *Baxter*  
*Baptized in Blood.* And hence now it is  
 that, as your laſt reſerve of ſlander and Ma-  
 lice, as you had eſſayed in the *Preface to*  
*Biſhop Bramhall,* you throw this upon the  
 body of the Non-conformiſts, upon me too,  
 and your Answerer. Yet neither is this  
 Declaration ſo mad as that which you have  
 pen'd, p. 64, 65, 66. of your *Reproof,* in the  
 ſtile and name of His Maſteſty, with a bold-  
 neſs of which I think no Age can bring a  
 Parallel. But ſeeing neither that of *Baxter,*  
 nor this attempt upon your Answerer and  
 the Party, has had that bad effect which  
 probably you had propoſed, I ſhall not ag-  
 gravate it further; but appeal to all Men,  
 whether the world be well uſed, when ſuch  
 railing books, grounded upon voluntary  
 and ſuborn'd ſuggeſtion and forgery, ſhall  
 by publick Licence invade mens quiet, and  
 diſturb their modeſty, and ſtir up a tumult  
 of

of writing; and yet, if any man shall but open his mouth to the contrary, and in defence of common ingenuity, the same person that invented or Licensed the falshood, shall have the priviledge likewise to prohibit the Truth and the Discovery. Only, Mr. *Bayes*, forasmuch as you do here avow that it was upon this occasion that you called for *Signal Marks, Acknowledgments, Recantations, &c.* and seeing this occasion chances to be no occasion, pray learn henceforward to be something more deliberate in your railing against the Non-conformists. Perhaps if you would use your incomparable *Suada*, and move them to Repentance in a Theological and Christian Language, they might be prevailed with. For truly it does befit all that have been accessory to the late mischiefs and crimes, to walk with great innocence and modesty, though after the State has set them right, the Church cannot of right, as you would have it, demand another Allegiance. But to think, that railing will do the work, or for men to hear themselves called *Traytors, Villains, Schismaticks, Hereticks*, and to have all mankind preach'd and hurangu'd up to extirpate them, for meer Non-conformity; and this by such a person as you (which makes their  
suffe-

suffering more infamous and odious to them) and for you to perswade them that all this is wholesome for them and the good of their Souls, and that therefore they should recant in your hands, it is just as if *Rabshakeh* should pretend, when he threatened the men of *Jerusalem* they should drink their own Piss, that he prescribed them a remedy for the Scurvy. Pray do but try a little Mr. *Bayes*, for experiment how you your self could away with this Recanting; if you were to disgorge all you had swallowed, and swallow all you had disgorged, it would make you I trow look very simply, and cast you into a Fit worse then of the *Miserere* or the *Iliack* Passion. Were you to recant all your false Doctrines, all your profanations of Scripture, all your *Bear-garden* and *Billings-gate* Railing and Scolding; Nay, were you to recant (and in good Conscience you ought to refund) for your estate got by Plunder, and Sequestration and High-Court of Justice. Were you to recant for all the Circles, Semicircles, Complements, and Segments in the *Reproof*; Were you but to refund to your Book-seller, for all those books that you were fain to give away to disperse them, and for that mutual *Gratification*, which you were



were not ashamed, notwithstanding all your Dignities, to pillage him of before he could pay his Printer: I doubt the least of these would come off with an ill grace, and 'twould go very hard and awkwardly with you. But, because this may be too severe, you have here solemnly protested that if your Answerer can convict you of any one Forgery, it shall not suffice to ask him forgiveness upon your knees, but you will make him a publick Recantation. This thing of the Declaration, that it was subscribed by your Answerer, is a notorious and convict Forgery. Therefore do but now go to him, and kneel down on your knees, and ask his blessing, and make but a private Recantation, and I will say you are so far an honest man.

And now being so near a period I cannot but gratulate my good fortune, rather than my wisdom, that I have travelled such an Author through with no more extravagancy 'Tis some kind of deliverance to have found my way so well when I was to follow an *Ignis Fatuus*. Had he thought fit to make use of my admonition, there had been no occasion for this intercourse. But seeing he has chosen it, I hope there are few persons of Candor who need strain their invention to supply my excuse; it being more  
easie

easie to justifie to others, than to delight my self with this kind of writing. And amongst the most Eminent, I hope my Lord Archbishop will not (if this be the man I take him for) misinterpret me. But that as he was once pleased to *thank me, and acknowledge that I had done good service to the Church* in detecting to him another Doctor so effectually, that he voluntarily subscribed never to come more within any Pulpit, although he is since *punished* with a Living of Three hundred pounds a year: so now his Grace will not take itill that I have also discovered this man to him, the Tenure of whose Divinity is *per Saltum, Sufflum, & Pettum*; and whose Purse and Conscience, being link'd with the same Tyes, do make together the perfect Character of an, &c.

What remains, Mr *Bayes*, is to serve in your *Bacon*, but because I would do it to the best advantage, I shall add something else for your better and more easie digestion. The first shall be your *Ammianus Marcel.* whom if you had, as I advised you, bit off at both ends, he could not probably have molested you. But in the 27<sup>th</sup> book, having described the contention of *Damasus* and *Ursicinus* for Ecclesiastical preeminence, he adds; *These kind of men ought*  
indeed

indeed to be most sharply reprehended, who having obtained what they covet, are secure to be enriched with the offerings of the Ladies, and rowle about in Coaches, curiously drest up, and eat more delicately then Princes; where as they might be truly happy, if neglecting the Grandeur and Ostentation of the City, which they make an excuse for their Vices, they would imitate in their manner of living, such Country Prelates; who eating and drinking moderately, clothing themselves homely, and looking humbly, recommend themselves thereby to the everlasting Deity, and those that truly worship him, as modest and pure persons. Again, in his 21. book, giving the Character of Constantine, among other things he saith that, *He did confound the Christian Religion which is a perfect and plain thing, Rem absolutam & simplicem, with a Grammatick and doating Superstition, and instead of composing with gravity the perplexed questions which he excited, he promoted them further with a strife of words; so that the Prelates, trooping it up and down on the publick Post-horses, and cantering from Synod, as they call it, to Synod, whilest they endeavour to draw all Rites within their jurisdiction, there were*

Q

scarce

scarce any horse left to supply Travellers.  
If this be for your service pray make use of  
it.

But lest you should say hereupon that  
your *Ammianus* was a *Socinian*, will you  
admit King *James* his judgment, who, after  
nineteen years experience tells the Parlia-  
ment, That the external Government ap-  
pear'd well, Learned Judges, settled Peace,  
great Plenty, so that it was to be thought e-  
very man might have sat in safety under his  
own Vine and Fig-tree; yet he was ashamed,  
and it made his hair to stand upright to con-  
sider, how his people have in this time been  
vexed and pelted by the vile execution of Pro-  
jects, Patents, Bills of Conformity, and  
such like; which, beside the trouble of his  
People, have more exhausted their Purse  
then Subsidies would have done. You see  
that a bill of Conformity (though it made  
not, in the phrase of your Preface, an Arch-  
angel stare, yet it) made a Kings hair stand  
an end.

But lest you should say King *James* was  
an *Arminian*, I shall now bring in my Lord  
*Verulam*, whom you cannot refuse, having  
so often call'd for him. And I the rather  
quote him because a wise man is as it were  
eternal

eternal upon earth; and he speaks so judiciously and impartially, that it seems as if these very times which we now live in had been in his present prospect. There are two short Treatises of these matters, one begins p. 129. the other in p. 180. of his *Resuscitatio*. Pray Mr. Bayes, let us both listen, for I assure you, before he has done, he will tell us many a wiser thing than is to be met with either in *Ecclesiastical Politie* or *Rehearsal*. 'The Controversies themselves (saith he) I will not enter into, as judging that the Disease requires rather Rest than any other Cure. Neither are they concerning the great parts of the Worship of God, of which it is true; *Non servatur Unitas in Credendo, nisi eadem sit in Colendo*. Not as betwixt the East and West Church, about Images, or between us and the Church of *Rome* about the Adoration of the Sacrament, &c. but we contend about ceremonies, and things indifferent, about the extern Policy and Government of the Church. And as to these we ought to remember that the ancient and true Bounds of Unity are, one Faith, one Baptism, and not one Ceremony or Policy. *Differentia Rituum commendat Unitatem*.

*nitatem Doctrinae.* The diversities of Ce-  
 remonies do set forth the Unity of Doctrine,  
 and *habet Religio quae sunt Eternitatis, ha-*  
*bet quae sunt Temporis,* Religion hath parts  
 which belong to Eternity, and parts which  
 pertain to time. If we did but know the  
 virtue of Silence and Slowness to speak,  
 commended by St. James, and would leave  
 the over-weaning and turbulent humors of  
 these times, and revive the blessed procee-  
 ding of the Apostles and Primitive Fathers,  
 which was in the like cases, not to enter  
 into Assertions and Positions, but to deli-  
 ver Counsels and Advices we should need  
 no other remedy at all. Brother, there is  
 Reverence due to your Counsel, but Faith  
 is not due to your Affirmation. St. Paul  
 was content to say, *I and not the Lord,*  
 but now men lightly say, *not I but the Lord,*  
 nay and bind it with an heavy denunciation  
 of his judgments to terrifie the simple,  
 whereas saith that wise man, *the causeless*  
*Curse shall not come.* The Remedies are  
 first that there were an end made of this  
 immodest and deformed manner of writing  
 lately entertained, whereby matter of Re-  
 ligion is handled in the stile of the Stage.  
 But to leave all reverence and religious  
 com-

'comp<sup>l</sup>exion toward evils, or indignation  
 'toward faulrs, and to turn Religion into  
 'a Comedy or Satyre, to search and rip up  
 'wounds with a laughing Countenance, to  
 'intermix Scripture and Scurrility sometimes  
 'in one Sentence is a thing far from the de-  
 'vout reverence of a Christian, and scant  
 'befeeing the honest regard of a sober  
 'man. Two principal causes have I ever  
 'known of Atheism; Curious Controver-  
 'sie, and profane Scoffing. Now that these  
 'two are joyned in one, no doubt that Sect  
 'will make no small progression, *Job* speak-  
 'ing of the Majesty and Gravity of a Judge,  
 'saith, *If I did smile they believed it not* :  
 'that is, if I glanced upon conceit of mirth,  
 'yet mens minds were so possessed with the  
 'Reverence of the Action in hand, as they  
 'could not receive it. Much more ought  
 'not this to be among Bishops and Divines,  
 'disputing about Holy things. Truly as I  
 'marvel that some of those Preachers which  
 'call for Reformation (whom I am far from  
 'wronging so far as to joyn them with these  
 'scuffers) do not publish some declaration, in  
 'dislike that their cause should be thus solli-  
 'cited; so I hope assuredly that my Lords of  
 'the Clergy have no intelligence with this  
 inter-

' inter-libelling, but do altogether disallow  
 ' that their Cause should be thus defended.  
 ' For though I observe in one of them many  
 ' glosses, whereby the Man would insinuate  
 ' himself into their favours ; yet I find it to  
 ' be ordinary that many pressing and fawning  
 ' persons do misconjecture of the humour of  
 ' Men in Authority, and many times seek to  
 ' gratifie them with that which they most dis-  
 ' like. Nevertheless, I note that there is  
 ' not an indifferent hand carried to these  
 ' Pamphlets as they deserve. For the one  
 ' sort fly in the dark, and the other is utter-  
 ' ed openly. Next I find certain indiscreet  
 ' and dangerous amplifications as if the Ci-  
 ' vil Government, &c. For it is impossi-  
 ' ble to omit any thing in those excellent dis-  
 ' courses, without apparent injury to the Au-  
 ' thor, and to the Reader. And that which  
 ' makes them more pertinent is, that he does  
 ' not spare neither the Non-conformists but  
 ' gives them too their just charge ; for neither  
 ' then certainly, nor now, are they to be ex-  
 ' cused : though the unequal dealing used to  
 ' wards them doth justifie them the more, and  
 ' hath not allowed place or leisure in this  
 ' Book for me to particularize their fail-  
 ' ings.



But least you should except against my Lord Bacon, as a Lay man, not competent to judge of these Ecclesiastical matters in comparison with the Clergy, and who was but, as far as the prejudice of the Age he lived in would permit him, an acute Philosopher; what say you to Doctor Stillingsfleet in the Preface to his *Irenicon* from beginning to end? And in the Book it self from p. 117. to 123, I have made scruple to disguise the discourses of him and other, as some practise, to make them pass for mine own: and to quote them at length were unnecessary, being so easily found in the Author. But here in few pages you may find all that you have said with so many years labour, totally ruined.

But, least you should reject Dr. Stillingsfleet, as a Papist, may Bishop Usher, Dr. Hammond, Bishop Taylor, Chillingworth be allow'd of? I have them all ready at hand for you. But they are all I doubt *suspecta Fidei*, and you will believe none but your self. This is that which hath seduced you, and because you preach'd over your notes of *Ecclesiastical Politie* in a private Congregation, without being interrupted, you imagined the whole world had been of that mind.

mind, and 'twould pass for oecumenical Doctrine; Whereas I despair not of seeing yet by Gods goodness and the influence of his Majesty, upon the prudence and moderation of my Lords the Bishops, that if you still persist in your mischievous undertaking, you shall be but *Simon Magus* his sickle, to mow the whole field without any hand to manage it. It was in the latter end of *Queen Elizabeth*, after the long experiment of her Reign, that my Lord *Jerulam* writ his first discourse I quoted, and his second at the coming in of *King James*, as *Dr. Stillington* his at the restoration of His Majesty now reigning. But still at the beginning of the Reigns of our Princes, the proper seasons of redressing these Ecclesiastical matters, and of taking firm measures for their future government, some rub has been interposed unhappily that has thrown all of the Bias and so lost the Cast. Who is there that ever reads the Scriptures, unless he put on Ecclesiastical Spectacles, (and those too have a *Fly* ingraven upon them) but set's plainly what tenderness is due unto the scruples of Christians; that our Saviour hath taken Conscience into his immediate protection, and how conformable

able the Apostles were to his rule therein, both as to Doctrine and Practise? What *English* man, reflecting seriously, but must think it hard that a man may be a Christian in *Turky* upon better conditions? that the *French, Dutch,* and the *Wallons* even at *Canterbury*, may serve God here more freely then our own Natives? that it shall be a Priviledge among us to be an Alien, while an home-born Subject must pay the Double-duty (nay forfeit his whole estate) for the Protestant Religion? What Christian can conceive how a man should lose his right to the Sacraments for dissenting from the Ceremonies? I think I objected that to you once, but you have never deigned, as far as I can observe, once to answer it. But who especially that as a wise man weighs, what it is to impose things unnecessary upon people obedient to all other Laws, can advise the continuance of such Counsels? For a Prince to adventure all upon it, is like Duke *Charles* of *Burgundy*, that fought three Battels for an Imposition upon Sheepskins. For a Clergy-man to offer at persecution upon this Ceremonial account, is (as is related of one of the Popes) to justify his indignation for his Peacock, by the example

example of Gods anger for eating the forbidden fruit. But in you, Mr. Bayes, who are I know not well what, I look upon it as an effect of your madness, and only the *flaring of an Arch-deacon*.

You say, that most wise men were of opinion you should not answer me, only desire the world to compare it with your discourses: yet others, ('tis uncivilly said both as to your self and them) overpowr'd you to this Reply, against the bent of your inclinations. What others was it? Was the Devil in you? Or were there certain eyes upon you, as Bayes saith, that you could not be disengaged from? and you writ p. 8. for the sake of some ingenious persons and choice female Spirits, that have a value for you? otherwise you would see'm all hang'd before you would ever more set Pen to Paper. If I might advise you, Mr. Bayes, do so no more: for I verily believe you have writ a whole Cart-load of things, every whit as good as this, and yet the insolent Rascalls turn them all upon your hands again. But do as you please, I have not paid you the Tythe of what I owe you

you, but it lyes ready for you, when you please to send for it. You are a Blatant Writer and a Latrant; and for lesser crimes, though of the same nature, was *Gnevovski*, the *Polander*, sentenc'd to lye barking underneath the Table. You put me in mind of the *Hollanders* in *Batavia*, who, having spent their other Amunition, charged with Excrements; the purity of the Savage *Javaes* could not abide it, but thereupon yielded them the Victory: neither does it become me to contend for it.

✶ I will conclude in a short story, and more seasonable, because as your *Reproof*, it happen'd once at a Wedding. *Et*

*vous avez passé Monsieur par* *Del Rio. Mag.*  
*la Baviere. Wenceslaus* the Em- *p. 317.*

peror, Married the Duke of *Bavaria's* Daughter; the Duke, knowing the Emperours delights, brought along with him a Cart full of Jugling Conjurers, who playing their tricks *Zybo* that was *Wenceslaus* his Magician, *accedens propius, artificem Bavarum cum omni apparatu protinus devorat (ore ad aures dehiscente) calceos duntaxat, quia luto obfiti videbantur, expuens: secessumq; inde petens, ventrem insolita esca gravem in solium aqua plenum exonerat, Praestigiato-*  
*remq;*

*remq; adhuc madidum Spectatoribus restituit passim deridendum, adeo ut cateriqueque ejus Socii a ludo abstinerent.* Whether I shall have the like success I know not (for truly our sport is much like it, and unfit for serious Spectators). However I have spit out your dirty Shoon.

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**THE END.**

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